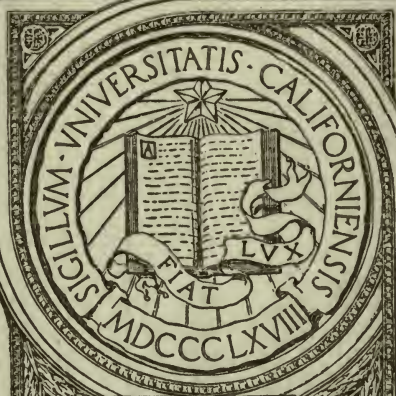


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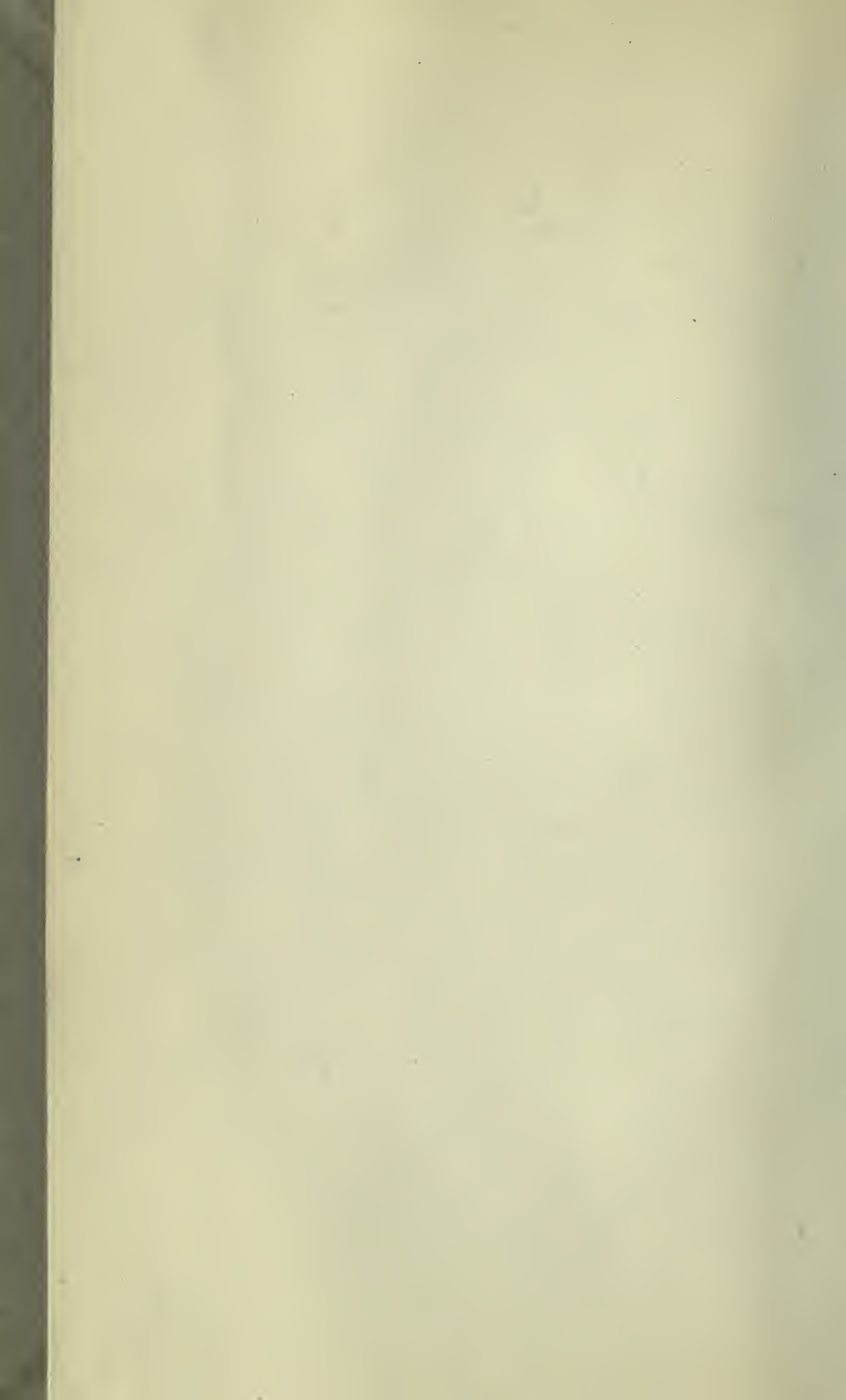
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FROM BARBARISM  
TO SOCIALISM.

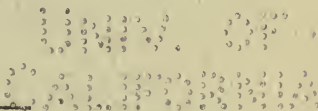
THE GREAT  
SOCIOLOGICAL CRISIS  
IN A NEW LIGHT

THE LIGHT OF EVOLUTION, REASON AND  
MODERATION

ADAPTED FOR STUDENTS OF SOCIALISM

BY

PROF. W. C. BOWMAN



LOS ANGELES, CAL.

THE CAXTON PRESS, PUBLISHERS

1906

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## PREFACE

THIS book follows no beaten path in the discussion of its subject. It treats both Socialism itself and the causes which have made Socialism inevitable, in a manner that lends freshness to the theme, even for the Socialist reader.

It is no mere re-hash of the old arguments served in a new dish, but in fact a new book, in matter, manner and spirit.

It presents Socialism in its entirety and its greatness, unhampered by any inadequate conceptions and unlimited by any one-sided philosophy.

Its design is not so much to *please* Socialists as it is to *make* Socialists, by presenting the subject in a manner that will effectually appeal to both the head and heart of all classes of readers.

If some Socialists should discover from reading the book that there is something else in Socialism besides the mere material wants of the wage-worker, let them not be discouraged—it will do them good.

If the non-Socialist or anti-Socialist reader discovers that Socialism is not the kind of thing he thought it was, but that it is in reality the only way out of our social, political and industrial inferno, let him be true to himself and dare stand for the right.

It has been the author's great aim to furnish the American citizen, not only with a complete discussion of

Socialism in all its varied aspects—political, economic, scientific, philosophical and ethical—but also, and as an indispensable prerequisite to that discussion, a careful study and analysis of the true nature and purposes of civil government ; the constitutional changes which it undergoes with the evolution of society and the progress of civilization ; and, above all, the duty of the American people, irrespective of party affiliations, to recognize the inevitable crisis which our nation has reached in its transition from the old to the new social order.

The thought of the author has been to treat the whole subject in the scientific rather than the polemic spirit, believing as he does that the interests of truth and right, even in political reform, are better subserved in this manner than by the harsher method of invective and abuse so commonly resorted to by the propagandist. It is a law of human nature to receive kindly what is kindly presented, and to resent what is offered offensively, even though it be unanswerable truth. Those who are already with us in opinion will, of course, applaud and flatter us for our caustic wit and vigorous home-thrusts at the “enemy ;” but we should not forget that it is our enemies, and not our friends, that must be won to our cause.

The intelligent reader will also readily see the author’s reason for quoting so extensively from non-Socialist sources ; namely, that the unintentional concessions of enemies and the unbiased opinions of the disinterested are always more effectual than the direct arguments of friends and partisans.

With these purposes in view, and in the spirit thus indicated, this book is sent forth on its mission with the earnest hope that it may accomplish some good in the great cause of justice and the betterment of human life.

THE AUTHOR.

# ANALYTICAL INDEX OF CONTENTS

## IN CONSECUTIVE ORDER

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### CHAPTER I.

EVOLUTIONARY ORIGIN OF GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS, 9-15.

1. Comprehensive and rapid glance at the process of development from the most crude and primitive conditions up to the most advanced ideals of the present, 9.
2. How the old forms of military and feudal despotism have been replaced by the commercial and industrial wars of to-day, forcing the Socialist revolution upon the world—Significant utterances of Prof. Ely, Leckey, Macaulay and Jefferson, 11.

### CHAPTER II.

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT — TRUE AND FALSE IDEALS, WITH STRICTURES ON ITS WRONGS AND CORRUPTIONS, 16-25.

1. Best form not absolute but relative—Pope's dictum, 16.
2. Pure democracy yet only an ideal, and in a strictly literal sense impracticable, 17.

3. Government in the ordinary sense a misnomer for the ideal social state, 19.
4. Governments administered by political parties essentially corrupt, 21.
5. Perverseness of existing governments strongly emphasized by dishonor and injustice to labor, 22.
6. But how can it be otherwise under the present system? 23.

### CHAPTER III.

TRUE PURPOSES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT, 26-36.

1. The word "purpose" defined as here used, 26.
2. "Greatest good to the greatest number" a plausible fallacy of a false system, 27.
3. The fallacy explained, 27.
4. Possibilities of a wise and just government—Sentences from John Stuart Mill and Sir William Blackstone, 28.
5. A case supposed by way of illustration, 29.
6. The trouble lies deeper than politics, and the remedy calls for something besides a class struggle for supremacy, 30. (Also see "Class Struggle," 156.)
7. Our lack of civic conscience explained, 33.
8. Magnitude of a government's whole duty, 33.
9. Preamble to our Constitution as yet an unfulfilled prophecy, 35.

### CHAPTER IV.

WHERE ARE WE NOW?—A GLANCE AT OUR REAL CONDITIONS AS COMPARED WITH OUR IDEAL PRETENSIONS, 37-48.

1. Our travesty on the "Preamble," 37.
2. A frightful contrast, 39.
3. The two kinds of slavery, chattel and wage, compared by J. A. Wayland of to-day, and Wendell Phillips, years ago, 42.
4. "Words that burn and thoughts that breathe"—On our new slavery—Ridpath—Howells—Sovereign—James : none of them Socialists, but all of them unconsciously proclaiming Socialism to the world, 43.
5. Cold-blooded words that freeze the heart, from the great newspapers concerning destitute and starving laborers, 45.

#### CHAPTER V.

"A GREAT CLOUD OF WITNESSES" UNWITTINGLY TESTIFYING TO THE FALSITY AND CORRUPTION OF OUR EXISTING GOVERNMENT, 49-73.

1. Introductory statement as to corruption in high places, etc., 49.
2. A prophetic veto of Andrew Jackson, three quarters of a century ago, condemning the national banking system and foretelling the ruinous effects of monopoly, 50.
3. Carlyle's prediction, in which the clear-sighted foreigner foresees far ahead, with strange particularity, our disastrous lie of "overproduction," 51.
4. How the Civil War put the money power into the saddle, and Lincoln's solemn warning, 52.
5. More significant confessions, predictions and warnings of strong and candid men, all non-socialists—John J. Ingalls—Hon. Wm. Windom—Robert Ingersoll—Senator Cameron—Bishop Saterlee—Bishop Potter—The

late ex-mayor Hewitt of New York—New York Press—New York Journal, etc., 53.

6. As others see us—Wm. T. Stead's scathing indictment of our political corruption and industrial degradation, with grim predictions—How another English writer pictures us—Bolton Hall's humorous satire, 63.
7. Corruption of the public press—Ex-Governor St. John on Satan as an editor, 66.
8. What do we think of our own shame? 68.
9. How we have kept ourselves in countenance by certain delusions—Hypnotized by fine rhetorical phrases about "Liberty," "Equality," "The greatest country on earth," "Land of the free and home of the brave," 69.
10. Political liberty and industrial slavery—How this hybrid combination has been stultifying the people, and how they are at last waking up to the real situation—Wm. T. Stead's vigorous words again, 71.

## CHAPTER VI.

WHAT NEXT? 74-116.

1. The trilemma of alternatives: Continued war, complete enslavement, or Socialism, 74.
2. March of destiny towards Socialism—Return to the individual method of industry absurd and impossible—One-half the Socialist program (the centralized method of industry) already established—The late C. P. Huntington's testimony and all he lacked of being a Socialist—Our three logical steps from monarchy to Socialism, 75.
3. Socialism defined comprehensively and impartially by leading lexicographers and encyclopedists, 78.

4. Essential unity of Socialism and incidental differences explained, 80.
5. Public control of private corporations a fallacy and a farce—Confused and meaningless utterances of President Roosevelt—Control and ownership inseparable, 81.
6. Socialism not a new and startling cult—Its essential spirit and purpose in various forms more or less ideal and Utopian theoretically advocated by the most thoughtful and benevolent minds of all ages, and practically lived here and there over the world by the most moral and virtuous communities in all history—Socialist argument strongly stated in the American Encyclopedia—Chambers' Encyclopedia makes significant confession—Henry George—Edward Bellamy—New Zealand—Walter Thomas Mills, 83.
7. Why Socialism appeals to the best and highest in man—Summary of its high purposes, 88.
8. Socialism not in conflict with human nature in these high aims, as claimed by some, 89.
9. The mighty change to be wrought by Socialism—A three-fold transformation of the whole face of human society, viz.: wars will cease, life changed from a struggle to a joy, and State and Church both converted and "saved," 91.
10. Socialism and ethics—A misapprehension explained, 95
11. Socialism and the laws of nature, showing the error and absurdity of reasoning from the lower orders of nature in defense of competitive life, 99.
12. Socialism scientific—Why Socialists emphasize this point—"From Utopia to Science"—The scientific argument described in detail—Socialism philosophic as well

as scientific—How it reasons from these deeper premises—Strongly stated by Rev. Heber Newton, 103.

13. Socialism and religion—How this section came, and religious estrangement among Socialists accounted for—Some practical “hints” to the churches about the remedy—Also a bit of reasoning with Socialists about religion as a constitutional factor in human life in general and the necessity of the religious ideal, in some form, to the success of Socialism in particular—A closing word to both church people and Socialists, 109.

## CHAPTER VII.

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM EXAMINED AND ANSWERED, 117-135.

1. That Socialism is paternalism—Two political objections strangely opposite—The first answered, 117.
2. That Socialism is anarchy—Objection refuted by comparing the two and showing them to be opposites—Some common sense advice as to the true method of dealing with anarchy and all other “dangerous opinions,” 119.
3. That Socialism is communism—The difference between the two clearly pointed out, showing Socialism to be the true mean between the false extremes of competition and communism, 122.
4. That Socialism aims at a dead-level equality—The ground of this objection conceded so far as social inequality is based on an aristocracy of wealth, which is to have no existence under Socialism—This phase of the subject ingeniously treated and strongly presented

by Wm. Dean Howells—Nothing to be feared from the new Social equality, 124.

5. That Socialism would destroy incentive—Objection rests on false assumption that man is incapable of higher incentive than self-interest—The subject ably presented in "The Worker"—Concluding dilemma, 129.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE FORCES AT WORK FOR SOCIALISM, 136-145.

1. Organized capital unintentially but effectually, 136.
2. Organized labor indirectly but surely—Socialism the only solution of the labor problem, 136.
3. Organized co-operation—An argument appealing especially to Socialists, 139.

## CHAPTER IX.

HAS SOCIALISM A WORKING HYPOTHESIS EXPLAINABLE IN ADVANCE ? 146-150.

1. If not, something is wrong—Mistaken policy of Socialist speakers and writers who give evasive answers to certain questions on the plea that the questions will answer themselves when the emergency arises, 146.
2. Knotty questions answered as to how private property is to be taken over to the collectivity, 147.
3. The principle of eminent domain as the fundamental answer to such questions, 148.
4. More specific answer furnished by the Socialist theory of values, earnings and ownership, 149.
5. Distinction between real and fictitious wealth pointed out, 149.

## CHAPTER X.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW ORDER, 151-156.

1. Reasons why this period will be more critical, more prolonged and more difficult than most Socialists apprehend, 151.
2. Industries classified according to their readiness for the new economy, 152.
3. Why agriculture is the least ready of all for the co-operative commonwealth, 154.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE TRUE SPIRIT OF SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA, 157-161.

1. Socialists in danger of overdoing "the class struggle" idea—The class struggle a fact to be recognized—Personal animosity to be avoided as both unwise and unjust, 157.
2. Socialism really a movement for doing away with class distinctions in the interest of humanity at large, 159.
3. Avoidance of harsh and abusive epithets against the rich especially insisted upon—True class-consciousness defined, 160-161.

## CHAPTER XII.

SOME COROLLARIES OF SOCIALISM, 162-170.

1. How the disappearance of poverty under Socialism will wipe out from the face of society those scrofulous institutions falsely called "charities," 162.
2. How the present monetary system, with its monstrous breeding functions and power to enslave, will pass away, 163.

3. How our present system of taxation, with its ridiculous complexities and abominations, will be a thing of the past, 165.
4. How the drink evil, with its institutions known as saloons, will spontaneously pass away under the new regime, 167.
5. How prostitution will come to an end when Socialism will have done away with its producing cause, 168.
6. Beautiful testimony of a notable and brilliant woman to the merits of Socialism as the only way out, 169.



# From Barbarism to Socialism

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## CHAPTER I.

### HOW EVOLUTION HAS BEEN RUNNING ITS COURSE.

#### 1. *The Origin of Governments.*

Human society and civil government are not the inventions or arbitrary devices of man. They exist from inherent necessity wherever human beings exist. Their various forms are determined, not by the cunning or even the ambition of rulers, but by the necessary outgrowth of the conditions under which they rise. It is a mistake to suppose that the institutions, laws, customs and beliefs of men, either civil or religious, are but the machinations of cunning priests or designing kings.

If our recent philosophy of evolution has taught us anything at all, it is that the procession of human history and the succession of human events are the work of neither the caprice of gods nor the arbitrament of men, but are borne forward by the steady and inevitable law of conditions precedent.

The philosophy of evolution knows only this one law of mutation in both civil and moral realms: that the present is by turns and continuously the effect of the past and the cause of the future. The operation of this law is as manifest in the history of man as in the history of a plant; and the successive developments of civilization from primitive conditions follow one another with no less certainty, though

with less regularity, than the stalk springs from the root, the branch from the stalk, the bud from the branch, the flower from the bud and the fruit from the flower.

It is this scientific view of the subject that should temper our methods and spirit as reform workers. As long as we are under the delusion that the wrongs and miseries of society and government are the result of a direct purpose and contrivance of one-half of society to injure and despoil the other half, it is but natural for the sufferers, who are endeavoring to right these wrongs, to indulge a spirit of bitterness and incrimination. But as soon as we come to understand that these evils are not the result of evil purposes, but of wrong conditions, this spirit of bitterness gives way to a calm and philosophic view of the matter, a state of mind at once happier for us and worthier in itself, because it is in better harmony with both reason and charity. But this new discovery does not weaken our efforts at reform; it only changes the animus of our work, which ceases to be a war of personality against apparently bad men, and becomes a war of principles against a really bad system.

This philosophy of evolution teaches no lesson more clearly than that of the conditional origin of governments and civilization. Not only all governments themselves, but all the changes which they undergo by reforms and revolutions have come as the natural and spontaneous answers to the problems of environment.

That the patriarchal was the primitive form of government was neither an accident nor a human scheme, but a simple matter-of-course in the primitive nature of things, the family relation being the first in the order of development.

As families grew into tribes the tribal form of government followed naturally.

As tribes multiplied and warred with one another, the

conquering tribes held and governed the conquered territories by military power, thus naturally establishing the next form of government—military despotism.

As civilization advanced, despotism softened into absolute monarchy.

A little higher order of intelligence and virtue suggested a limited monarchy with an established constitution and written laws.

With this new conception that even kings and rulers are amenable to law came the first dawn of civil liberty to the minds of men, namely, that the people have rights as well as the rulers.

From this latter conception was born the ultimate political idea of the democratic form of government.

Thus each successive step in the long line of political evolution is seen to have followed the preceding step by natural sequence.

## *2. Transition of the Old Forms of Strife into the New.*

Simultaneously with the civil and military phases of government, though of later development, the industrial and economic features of society began to shape themselves and play a more and more important part in the structure and operation of governmental policies.

Through military conquest and subordination, notably after the fall of the Roman Empire, naturally came the feudal system, with its castled chiefs, its military land tenures, its tenants and serfs bound to the military service and to the soil.

And here we have the simple explanation of the main origin of caste distinctions throughout the whole world.

Industry, subordinated and enslaved by military rank, tells the story. Industry alone, under conditions of peace and unselfishness, could never have led to the distinction of master and slave, or of lord and serf.

But the law of human life and progress, as of all other departments of nature, is the law of evolution, in accordance with which man must first run his race on the lower plane of selfishness and war. The masses of mankind are still on that plane; but a period of transition is here, and thousands have already seen and felt its power. This change has come by the gradual replacement of the military by the industrial and commercial spirit. This latter spirit, though bringing humanity a degree higher in the scale of civilization, is still only a more refined species of war. It is less barbarous and bloody than the physical conflict of arms, but no less fatal to the reign of peace on earth while it continues.

And how harmless it seemed at first! So mild that it scarcely amounted to competition. For a long time it was only a career of productive industry, with its independent artisans working with their own tools and bartering their products with their neighbors, so that every man was his own landlord, his own capitalist and his own laborer.

But now watch the leaven work and see how evolution moves onward. Without evil intention, without suspicion of danger, but with full confidence in the innocence and righteousness of the individual system of enterprise, every man for himself, business moved apace, increasing, broadening, deepening in the variety of its schemes and the growing belief in the proposition that "business is business." The merchant led the way and gradually subjected the producer to his greater skill and cunning. With the growth of commerce and the aid of shrewd monetary legislation, the banker reduced both the producer and the merchant to subserviency.

Capital being thus in the lead, and strengthened by the gradual introduction of labor-displacing machinery, want

of employment, destitution and wage slavery soon followed among the working people.

The laboring classes being thus deprived of their influence as a factor in the economic system, the arena of competition was now in exclusive possession of the capitalist exploiter, the speculator, the man of "business."

But the trouble was not ended yet. In fact individualism and competition were just beginning to bear their legitimate fruits; for no sooner had the "business" man got the laboring man out of the way than he found himself in a still fiercer competition with his own class. So the next inevitable step in the order of evolution was for the "business" men to enter upon the mutual "business" of crushing one another out. This was necessary, because "business is business," and there was no other way to do under the competitive system.

Accordingly the work began in two ways. First, the trust, by which a number of strong corporations, or prosperous individual enterprises, engaged in the same species of industry, combined with one another in a compact of good faith, not to compete among themselves, but to maintain a uniform scale of prices in their own interests. Second, the crushing process, by which the great mercantile establishments were able to drive the small dealer out of business, or into bankruptcy, by means of the department store and superior capital and credit. Until at last, and still with no direct intention of wrong-doing, but as the natural and inevitable outworking of a system of economy based on self-interest and competition, we have reached a stage of economic domination and oppression of the weak by the strong which has become unendurable, and therefore destined to result in either despotism, anarchism,

or (an alternative far more pleasing) *collectivism*; when land and tools and capital and workers will again be united, not on the plane of individualism and self-interest as at first, but on the higher and nobler plane of human brotherhood, where —

“Each shall live for all and all for each.”

Concerning this socialistic ultimate as the logical result of the world's economic conditions, Prof. Ely, who writes, not as a Socialist, but as the author of one of our most noted works on political economy, says :

“Modern Socialism is the natural outcome of modern industrial conditions, and its origin is contemporaneous with the origin of these conditions. We must seek the beginning in the beginnings of modern industry. We can express this thought differently by saying that modern Socialism is the result of industrial revolution. It has grown with this revolution, becoming international as the industrial revolution has spread over the nations of the world. Industrial conditions are similar in all parts of the world which have participated in the industrial revolution.

“These similar conditions must inevitably give rise to similar thought. Socialism is not the only possible conclusion which can be drawn from them, but it is one which could not fail to be drawn; and the absurdity of the ordinary talk about the importation of Socialism from foreign lands becomes apparent.”

As illustrating the application of this law of evolution in the constant modification of governments and institutions by changing conditions, Leckey, in his great essay on the Political Value of History, says :

“No wise man will judge of the merits of existing in-

stitutions solely on historic grounds, because no institution, however great its antiquity or transcendent its uses in the past, can permanently justify its existence, unless it can be shown to exercise a really beneficial influence over our own society and our own age. Our sails must be set to the winds of to-day, not of yesterday. Sometimes, with changed beliefs and conditions, institutions lose all their original utility and become not only useless, but obstructive and corrupt."

Emphasizing this great law of progressive civilization is the strong epigrammatic sentence of Macaulay :

"The great cause of revolution is, that while nations move onward, constitutions stand still."

Putting the same thing in still plainer English, our own great Jefferson declared, by way of hyperbole, that "it is necessary to have a revolution every twenty years."

## CHAPTER II.

### NATURE OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

#### 1. *Form of Government Not the Great Concern.*

Having now taken a brief survey of the evolutionary origin and progress of institutions, it will be instructive to inquire somewhat into their essential nature and forms under the varied conditions of society.

And the first thing to be observed here is, that the mere external form of a government is a matter of far less importance to the well-being of the people than is generally supposed. The greater question concerns the character of those in power, and their devotion to the common good.

The question as to what is the best form of government has no absolute answer, but depends always relatively upon the character and conditions of the people to be governed.

In the primitive stages of civilization, military despotism is not only the best form of government, but the only possible form. And so on through the ascending scale, the best form of government is the form best suited to the type and conditions of the people, pure democracy being the highest form conceivable, and hence suitable only for the highest type of civilization.

But returning to the main thought here insisted on, the well-being of society at any given time depends less upon the form of government than upon the character of its ad-

ministration. In other words, a good despotism is better than a bad monarchy, and a good monarchy is better than a bad republic. This was evidently the thought in Carlyle's mind when he said: "If you wish to know what is the best form of government, take your best and wisest man, place him at the head and make his will absolute."

Of course this sentence was not intended as a philosophical essay on government, but as a terse and somewhat droll statement of a truth intentionally left unqualified for the time.

This same truth as to the secondary importance of the form of government, as compared with the purity of its administration, has never been more forcibly expressed than in the celebrated lines of Pope:

"For forms of government let fools contest ;  
That which is best administered is best."

## 2. *Pure Democracy only Ideal.*

Yet, while all this is true, there is an ideal highest form of government—pure democracy—which has never yet existed, because no race or nation has yet collectively reached the high level of mental and moral fitness essential to pure democracy. In truth, a *pure* democracy, even with the necessary degree of intelligence and virtue, is manifestly impracticable if applied to the extensive territories and vast populations constituting the present governments of the world; because in a pure democracy every function of government, legislative, executive and judicial, requires the presence and action of the whole people directly—a physical impossibility with any government larger in area and population than an ordinary country town.

Our so-called democracies, therefore, are and always

have been very far from pure. Even the little republics of ancient Greece, so commonly instanced as examples of pure democracy, though possibly small enough for it in area and population, being little more than municipalities, still fell short of true democracy in two essential particulars—they were always a mixture of free men and slaves, and they never wholly dispensed with leadership and representation.

There are doubtless, in all forms of government, some good features; and as the different races and nations become sufficiently free from inherited prejudices to make it possible, it may be that by an earnest comparative study of all the civilizations of the world the highest and best features in all might be brought together into one grand eclectic whole, thus gradually obliterating the dividing lines of prejudice and exclusiveness between the various governments of the world, so as finally to bring about the Brotherhood of Man. Even this "far-off divine event" will come in due time.

To the student of advancing civilization it is a gratifying as well as a somewhat curious fact that colonies which go out from an old country and make new settlements are as a rule more liberal and progressive than the mother country. Some of the English colonies, for example, as in New Zealand and Australia, to say nothing of our own thirteen original American colonies, are setting the pace for the whole world. The explanation doubtless is that those who have the enterprize to emigrate to new countries, being naturally more progressive than those who stay behind, have thus an opportunity to segregate themselves, form a new society of their own, and put their advanced ideas into practice; for, after all, progress is not so much hampered by constitutional limitations as by the inveteracy

of old customs and the consequent tendency to run in a rut.

### 3. *Government is a Misnomer for the Ideal Social State.*

We have thus far been considering society under the form of organized government, affirming pure democracy to be its ideal highest form; but from a philosophical standpoint we cannot justly close this analysis without observing that the *supreme* ideal state of society is not *government* in any form.

Government, in any sense yet understood, implies the existence of external forms of law, with organized authority to enforce them; while the ideal state of which we are speaking would have no such external forms, because the individuals composing such society would be living on so high an ethical plane of unselfish love and mutual devotion to the common good that there would be no need of either external laws to define the duties of citizens or of external authority to enforce them. This supreme and beautiful ideal is what some have called "the kingdom of heaven," while others more recently have termed it "philosophical anarchy." (Who would have thought the Anarchists were so near the kingdom?) But call it by what name we will, it is still only a splendid vision of the prophets, poets and philanthropists of the world, and will continue such until the race, or some available portion of it, reaches the high degree of social and moral perfection which alone will make such a life possible. It is certain that for some time to come, whatever may be possible in the more distant future, human society will have to be regulated by constitutions and laws, even though they be of the simplest, most purely democratic and beneficent character. To live without law men must be either saints or savages. Between the extreme of primitive nature and

that of ultimate grace there is no such thing as absolute liberty.

The science of government does not concern itself with conditions either above or below the civil state. The only species of liberty it recognizes is civil liberty; and civil liberty, of every kind and degree, so far from being independent of law, is the very creature of law.

It is a serious mistake, and not an uncommon one, to suppose that the freest government is the one with the fewest laws. On the contrary, the truest and highest type of civil liberty is that which is best defined and most securely guarded by a complete system of just and wholesome laws so plainly written that the common people can understand them and become familiar with them.

It is one of the most serious indictments against our present system of civil economy that our laws and courts of justice are stilted above the comprehension of the masses into the clouds and mists of an antiquated phraseology, traditional precedents, and legal subtleties for lawyers and judges to juggle with, while the people sit and gaze in blank wonderment, and then wait for the solemn and often mysterious verdict of juries to be returned, or the "high and lofty" decisions of judges to be "handed down." No wonder Lord Bacon, who was one of these high and mighty judges, was constrained to declare that "the law is a net in which the weak are caught while the strong break through." What a condemnatory though candid commentary for a great jurist to make on his own profession!

Let this truth be remembered: Simplicity is characteristic of every honest and genuine procedure in human life. And we may be sure that there will be no reign of social justice and fraternal righteousness in any land until its

laws and courts, its customs and institutions are purged from all taint of dark-age mysticism, spurious high-mightiness, and all those trappings of royalty which belong to the past ages of barbaric splendor, religious superstition and "the divine right of kings." Robes of state, insignia of office and rank, traditional formulas, and all kinds of mystical hocus-pocus will gradually come to an end in church, state and society, just as fast as the people are ready to replace forms, symbols and ceremonies with the realities for which they stand.

True, it is pleasing to know that the world's progress in civilization has reached the stage where true social conditions are even so much as symbolized. It shows that at least right conceptions have been arrived at; and right conceptions are the first prerequisites to right achievements. While the semblance of a virtue may for a long time be mistaken for the virtue itself, the delusion will at length become manifest and the semblance give place to the reality.

#### 4. *Government, Politics and Corruption.*

Before concluding these reflections on the nature of civil government it is important to repeat with emphasis that GOVERNMENT is really not the appropriate word for the coming social order, because it is a word which implies power and authority exercised *over* the people. This has always been its meaning, whether the rulers have been patriarchs, despots, kings, monarchs or presidents. True, the progress of civilization has been gradually diminishing the barbarous rigor of the old absolutism. But in spite of all the modifications and improvements which governments have undergone, and all the refinements which have taken place in their ideals, the old conception of govern-

ment as a power above the people and distinct from them has never been eliminated. Our "chief magistrate," "the powers that be," and "our rulers" are expressions not yet foreign even to the citizens of our own great republic. But they will pass away as the new order comes in, and there will be a new conception of the state. Instead of government we shall have administration, and instead of politics, economics.

Politics and public corruption are inseparable; and so long as public office means public power there will be public plunder. "It is opportunity that makes the thief," and so long as public office is made tempting, either by its emoluments or by its opportunities for peculation and irresponsible power, self-seeking men will follow politics as a trade, and office-hunting as a profession. All this will be a thing of the past when the state becomes an institution administered simply and purely for the common good, and public office, no longer a stake for gamblers, is placed on the same footing with other useful employments, both as to dignity and remuneration. Each and every citizen will be in the public service.

##### 5. *Our "Dignity of Labor."*

We "free and equal" Americans talk about the "dignity of labor; and yet truth forces upon us the shameful confession that there is no country on earth where labor is more snubbed, more dishonored or more enslaved. In fact, according to the economic laws governing human life, neither labor nor laboring people can ever rise above servility in any land where commerce is the ruling god and wealth the only standard of worth.

Under a social system founded on individual enterprise

and competition the strong inevitably subordinate the weak and make them subservient—"hewers of wood and drawers of water." The laborer thus naturally becomes a servant, and his labor simply a matter of commercial profit to his master. And here are the two conditions which necessarily doom labor to indignity and injustice—indignity because of its servility, and injustice because the profits go to another—not to the producer.

Through the same vicious principle of commercialism this injury and dishonor to labor is carried still further by a descending scale of degradation. Labor being considered only with reference to its market value to the employer, and wholly without reference to the necessities and rights of the laborer, what else is there for him but a brutal classification of his labor and his wages into such distinctions as "only a common laborer," "a day laborer," "unskilled labor," "rough worker," etc.? As if the "common labor" and the "rough labor" were not as hard and long and faithful and wearing and as necessary to be done as the other kinds of labor! Or as if the necessities of the one for food, clothing, shelter and all the comforts and conveniences of life, and his right to all these things as a faithful worker, were not as great as those of the other class!

6. *Where's the Blame?* "*The Full Dinner Pail.*" *The Warning.*

The reader must understand that this is no indictment against the employer of labor. The employer, as such, is neither better nor worse than the laborer. What else can he do? What else can either of them do under an economic system in which everything—even life itself—is estimated solely with reference to a commercial standard

of values? What other course is possible under a system where labor is done by one class and the opportunity to labor is controlled by another class? And where the one class is dependent on the other not only for the opportunity to labor but for the price to be paid for labor? And especially where the employer has it in his power, by reason of a surplus of workers, to reduce the wage scale as low as he chooses.

The tendency of Capitalism is to ignore the human relation between the employer and the employed. The stockholder of a manufacturing company knows that labor produces profit, and it is all the same to him whether the productive power is that of a man, a mule or a machine. In fact the three are regarded with equal favor while they are in working order. When "laid up for repairs" the mule and machine are cared for by the company, while the man pays his own doctor. If beyond repair the machine goes to the junk pile and the used-up worker to the poor-house or the potters' field.

To talk of the "dignity of labor" under conditions like these is a grim and cruel sarcasm. No wonder the laboring men of America are sinking so low in their sense of honor and pride of manhood as to be successfully appealed to at the ballot-box by the "stomach argument" of "a full dinner pail"—as if they were not men endowed with any noble aspirations of a social, intellectual and moral nature, but only so many working cattle or beasts of burden, prompted by the one instinct of hunger, and to be satisfied if they could only have a full stomach. Such a commentary on the manhood of American citizenship will be a chapter in the future history of our republic which we would fain wish our children might not have to read.

Certainly no fine sense of ethical discrimination is needed to perceive that something is radically wrong with our industrial economy, even if we might suppose our social system to be right in the main. What this wrong is will plainly appear on slight reflection. It may be expressed in a single thought:—*conflict of interest between employer and laborer*. So long, in any country, as the interests of capital and labor are separated from and opposed to each other—that is, the less paid to labor the more profit to capital—that country is destined to find itself periodically among the shoals and breakers of an industrial tempest, if not amid the wreck of a violent revolution. Or, as sometimes happens, the laboring class, gradually accustomed to their servitude, may lose heart, and lapse into a state of unresisting slavery. Unwelcome as the thought may be, this latter solution of the problem is not impossible even in our own country. In fact, some extensive employers of labor—believers in the divine right of our “captains of industry,”—favor the idea of “a benevolent feudalism,” which is only another name for *wage slavery*. Not yet have our people forgotten the “benevolent assimilation” of the Philipinos by such *humane* means as the administration of the “water-cure” to those who sought in the bush safety from the “benevolent” bullet.

Indeed, this conflict of interest between labor and capital can only result in one of three conditions: unceasing war between labor and capital, slavery of labor to capital, or partnership of labor with capital. The last mentioned result means, of course, some form of Socialism.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE PURPOSES OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

#### 1. *The Word "Purpose" Defined.*

In considering the purposes of civil government it will be necessary to clearness of understanding to distinguish between the higher and lower sense of the word "purpose." In its lower and ordinary sense the purpose of a thing is simply the object had in view by one who designs or uses that thing in any given case. The purpose may be worthy or unworthy, wise or foolish, right or wrong, depending on the character of the purposing mind in each case. So the purposes of civil government, in this lower and relative sense, may be good or evil according to the character and designs of those in power. It is a pitiful thing to say, but, as a matter of fact, all the great governments on earth today (to say nothing of the past) are administered mainly in the interest of kings, emperors, nobles, and the wealthy in general, in almost total disregard of the prosperity, well-being and happiness of the great mass of the people. If we feel this pang of sorrow, and drop this tear of pity by the way, it is well; for when we all come to feel as well as to see the truth, then a nation may be born in a day.

By the "purposes" of civil government, then, is meant, not the actual and personal motives which may happen to control rulers in the administration of government, but

those fixed and permanent principles and motives which *ought*, from the highest ethical standpoint, to underlie the purposes and pervade the spirit of all governments. Under this restriction, we may say, in brief, that the one all-inclusive and only righteous purpose of civil government is the well-being, prosperity and happiness of the people, —*all* the people.

## 2. *Fallacy of "The Greatest Good to the Greatest Number."*

A just government justly administered would be for the good of *all*. The aphorism which declares the aim of government to be "the greatest good to the greatest number" is a worthy sentiment, but an erroneous conception. Its fault is the implication that there is some necessary and irremediable defect in government itself, by reason of which its provisions cannot affect all the people equally, but must work unavoidable hardships to some and special advantages to others. This conception of government has doubtless arisen from mere observation of the actual workings of existing governments, and not from any studious reflection upon the nature and possibilities of governmental science.

## 3. *The Fallacy Explained.*

Such a conclusion is natural to a mind unaccustomed to distinguish between things as they are and things as they ought to be. Strange to say, there are even yet thousands of such minds—minds that have never caught sight of the contrast between the actual and the possible in the conditions of human life, nor felt the generous impulse of reform and betterment. Though they behold the unequal conditions—the wealth, the poverty, the struggle, the mis-

ery, the vice, the crime—that mar our social life so sadly, yet they fail to see how it could be otherwise. Such minds are not active, but passive. They have not been thinking, but accepting as true certain old sayings, heard from childhood, such as: “Human nature is always the same;” “There is nothing new under the sun;” “The poor ye always have with you.” This being the sum-total of their philosophy of life, there is, of course, no material change to be expected in the order of things. But men of thought, who have kept their faces toward the light and their shadows behind them, have a different mind, because they have been drinking their inspirations from the flowing stream of evolution and progress, and not from the stagnant waters of unchanging faith, where the night-bird wails its hopeless refrain: “As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end.”

#### 4. *Possibilities of a Wise and Just Government.*

No! if civil government is not a mistake and an abortion, if human life is not a mockery and human progress a fiction, then both human character and human conditions are susceptible of constant improvement and indefinite perfectibility by means of a wise, just and progressive civilization.

This is clearly recognized by the world's most profound students of society and government. [John Stuart Mill affirms that “by a wise and just system of laws and government the social evils of life would be reduced to the smallest possible minimum, if not entirely removed.”

Why not? Is this not the very purpose of law and government? Sir William Blackstone, the world's greatest master of legal lore, declares that “governments are

established for the preservation of society, and society exists for the benefit of individuals." He further declares it to be the specific purpose of law "to command what is right and prohibit what is wrong."

##### 5. *A Case Supposed.*

Now, assuming that the foregoing views of law and government are correct (and who can reasonably assume the contrary?) there are certainly no good grounds for pessimism as to the possibilities of civil government for the constant betterment of society in all its interests.

Let us take that brief sentence of Blackstone, that the province of law—or of the state, which is the same thing here—is "to command what is right and prohibit what is wrong." Let us suppose that a single state or government—our own, for example—should set itself to the task of earnestly and thoroughly carrying out that one single principle, both in letter and in spirit, and with absolute fidelity. How the whole face of society would soon be transfigured!

All the great civilizations of the world, even those called "Christian," are leprous with sin, and wrong, and misery, because this one principle has been disregarded. True, our statute books are filled with laws against many species of crimes and misdemeanors, and we keep up a fair show of opposition to wrong-doing in all departments of our governmental machinery, legislative, executive and judicial. And yet, strange to say, some of the most demoralizing and ruinous evils known to human life are not prohibited by law, but compromised with and licensed by the laws of the land, as component parts of our public morals and our body politic; and then we wonder why crime so abounds and vice holds high carnival unchecked.

No ! Let the legislative, the executive and the judicial functions of any state or government be administered with one supreme, honest purpose of securing what is right and wholesome, and preventing every wrong and hurtful thing in every relation of life, in every phase of society, and for the best and highest good of all; then, if civil government is not a mere unscientific experiment—a fundamental misconception of the laws and needs of human life — what is to prevent the cure of society's wrongs and miseries by indefinite degrees, until the cure shall be so complete and effectual as to justify the conclusion that, after all, civil government is not a failure?

#### 6. *The Trouble Lies Deeper than Politics.*

It must be conceded that this supposition of a high moral order of civil administration involves a very radical change in the spirit and workings of any great government now in existence. It is also obvious that this change cannot be successfully brought about by any mere political reform movement. The trouble lies deeper than politics. No mere theory of political economy, nor industrial revolution through "class consciousness," can reach it. The consciousness which has power to transform the old into the new order is a consciousness not of class interests nor a class struggle for economic justice merely, but a consciousness pleading for universal justice, the universal harmonizing of the warring interests of the human race, and the universal brotherhood of man. It is this larger and deeper consciousness of the common weal that must take possession of the people in general before there is any hope or possibility of the new and ethical order of life. In fact, what is most needed as a saving power is not con-

sciousness of any kind. It is *conscience*. Mere consciousness is only a mental recognition of facts. Conscience is an ethical impulse urging toward the right. It is this impulse for righteousness—not a mere concept of self-interest or class-interest—that is to reveal itself in power to transform.

But let not this criticism of the class struggle be understood to condemn it as wrong or unnecessary, but only as a hopelessly inadequate remedy, if relied upon as a cure. The logical necessity of the class struggle as a preliminary step in the process is fully recognized, but *only* as a prerequisite condition, not a transforming power. The class struggle, both as a fact in history and as a failure to redeem human society, is graphically depicted by Carl Marx as follows :

“The history of the past is the history of class struggle. Freemen and slaves, patricians and plebeians, nobles and serfs, guild masters and journeymen—in short, oppressors and oppressed—have always stood in direct opposition to each other. The struggle between them has sometimes been open, sometimes concealed, but always continuous—a never-ceasing struggle which has invariably ended either in a revolutionary change of the social system or in the common destruction of the contending classes.”

There it is ! All history teeming with class struggles, and human society still unredeemed ! Class struggles always terminating either in the destruction of both contending parties or in a new social order only to develop some new form of class struggle ! And why ? Simply because the spirit of war, instead of the spirit of peace, has been believed in and relied upon as a remedy for evil. The whole world has still kept thinking to gather grapes

from thorns and figs from thistles, and that a corrupt tree can bring forth good fruit.

The author feels a profound desire that the Socialists of all nations may soon come to understand that in order not only to successfully win our fellow men of all classes to our standard, but—what is still more important—to lay a sure foundation for the exalted ideal social state contemplated by the Socialist program, we must preach a gospel of love—not of hate; of human brotherhood and peace—not of strife and war for class victory merely.

The attempt to maintain a just civil government separate and apart from ethical principles ever was and ever must be a failure. Politics apart from moral principle, and civil economy without foundation in ethical righteousness, are the fruitful sources of the wrongs, iniquities and miseries that fill the world and condemn all our great civilizations as spurious and immoral. How can it be otherwise while legislatures, in framing their laws, ask only “Is it *politic*?” instead of asking “Is it *right*?” What else can be expected while laws are made with reference to class interests and party rule instead of the common good? Under such conditions there is no civic conscience. The laws of the land having no ethical basis, obedience to them can have none. The average man is law-abiding, not from conscience, but only from a prudent regard to self-interest. It *pays*. In the transaction of business and the following of occupations only two questions are asked. The first is commercial: Will it pay? The second is prudential: Will the law allow it? As to the ethical right or wrong of the transaction, or the moral effect of the business on the community, no question is raised.

### 7. *Our Lack of Civic Conscience Explained.*

This lack of the ethical principle in civic and economic life seems almost unaccountable in view of the fact that the dominant institutions of all great nations, both civil and religious, ostensibly stand as conservators of the right as against the wrong. And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, the church and the state, between them, are unwittingly responsible for this demoralized condition of the public conscience. In settling the boundary line between the functions of church and state both have sadly blundered. Mutually cautious of trespassing on each other's domain, they have left the citizen in a limbo of neutral territory where his conscience has been allowed to take care of itself.

### 8. *Magnitude of a Government's Whole Duty.*

Here we become fully conscious of the complex character of our subject. The problem of civil government has many factors, requiring in its solution the blending and totalization of all the facts, forces and conditions entering as component elements into civilized life. It is not political economy merely that constitutes a state; nor does the ordinary analysis of government into legislative, executive and judicial departments comprise all that is meant by civil government. Every phase and every aspect of civilized life is a phase and aspect of government, and is to be counted in reckoning with the virtues and faults of that government. And why? Because the only rational concept of the governmental function being that of oversight and providence for the general good, whatever affects the happiness and well-being of the people is a matter of governmental concern and responsibility; and beneath the

watchful eye of a government faithful to its trust "not a sparrow will fall to the ground" unnoticed. Paternalism! do you say? Not at all. It is *fraternalism*—not a father taking care of his children by parental prerogative, but a great family taking care of itself by mutual (fraternal) administration. There is no danger of paternalism in this new era of onward movement; and if there were, "Paternalism (as Henry Ward Beecher once remarked) is a great deal better than infernalism."

But this distinction matters little as to the subject we are now considering—the true objects of civil government. The point here insisted on is, that the care exercised by the state for the well-being of the people must not be a partial but a universal care. There must be not merely an authoritative regulation of the so-called *public* duties and functions (such as the collection of taxes, the punishment of crime, the holding of elections and the adjudication of law suits, all of which have very little to do with the vital questions of how the people live, and what their opportunities are for making the most of life), but such a providential supervision and management on the part of the state as will secure for all the people the very best conditions and opportunities for a successful, happy and complete life. This means that the public administration must see to it, not merely that the citizen has the privilege of voting, and that he performs the duty of paying his taxes, but that he has the means and opportunity for an assured and comfortable living for himself and family, as well as the necessary leisure and facility for the higher culture of life's best and most refined civilization.

The true government—the ideal state—will not content itself with high-sounding generalities about "the glory of the republic," "democratic freedom," "the liberties of

the people," and "the grandest country on earth." It will rather concern itself to make sure that these fine expressions mean something, by seeing to it that there shall not exist under its flag any form of injustice, oppression, or wrong; any idlers living in unearned luxury, or toilers in squalid poverty; any favored few monopolizing the bounties of nature, the enjoyments of civilization and the opportunities for industry, while others starve, tramp and beg for the mere privilege of existence. Since the true purpose of government is the well-being of the whole people, no true government will tolerate either a system of economy which enables the strong to oppress the weak, or a system of licensed evil which nurtures vice and corrupts the morals of the people.

9. *Our "Preamble" only a Prophetic Generality.*

The Preamble reads almost like romance now: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish JUSTICE, insure domestic TRANQUILITY, provide for the common defense, promote the GENERAL WELFARE, and secure the BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America."

Let any thinking man of today consider these avowals, especially the emphasized words, and ask himself whether such ideals were embodied in the constitution itself, and to what extent they have been realized by the American people.

"To establish justice." What a splendid design! How fitting that the divine principle of justice should be placed as the chief corner-stone in the foundation of a government established in the interests of *all* the people! And,

without inquiring here what fullness of conception our revolutionary fathers may or may not have had of the principle of justice in its practical application to the affairs of civil government; without even suggesting the probability that in their thought it may have been limited to the establishment and operation of *courts* of justice; whatever may or may not have been their limitation of thought or purpose at that early stage in the evolution of free government towards a true democracy, there can be, in the beginning of the twentieth century, but one reasonable interpretation of those words. That interpretation is, that the establishment of justice under the government of the United States must include not only justice in the courts of judicature, but justice in all the relations, conditions and interests of the people, public and private, material and moral, political, industrial, educational and commercial. *Everything* that touches the people's lives and affects them for good or evil must and will be the concernment of every civil government administered for the common good.

But the question as to how these excellent ideals of our preamble are being carried out in the actual workings of our government will be considered later on; and it is highly interesting to place side by side our actual conditions with these four sacred and noble purposes: to "establish justice," "secure domestic tranquility," "promote the general welfare," and "insure the blessings of liberty" for the people.

## CHAPTER IV.

### WHERE ARE WE NOW ?

#### 1. *Our Travesty on the "Preamble."*

Having thus ended our inquiry into the origin, nature, and purposes of civil government in general, and pointed out with due emphasis the distinctly avowed objects of our government in particular, the question now forces itself upon us almost with violence : "Why is it that the actual conditions of the people of all the great nations, and especially of our own republic, are in such glaring contrast with the very principles and purposes for which our government is declared to exist ?"

Have we *justice* ? Let the question be answered by the corporations, trusts and combines, with their "corner" on the bounties of nature and the blessings of civilization ; their manipulation of the government in their own interests through class legislation, and their consequent enslavement of the people to tribute-paying for the privilege of existence.

Have we *domestic tranquility* ? The very question is bitter irony. The answer comes quick and terrible, cutting like a two-edged sword : "Behold our perpetual and bloody strife of labor and capital !" A two-fold war—a war of labor against capital, and of labor against labor—the toilers who are on strike for better jobs clubbing or

shooting the toilers who are begging for jobs. Then let us listen to our orators on the "Glorious Fourth" as they proudly refer to the blessing of domestic tranquility set forth in the preamble to our constitution.

Again, what about promoting "the general welfare"? Was this also the honest purpose of our revolutionary fathers, or are we to understand it as only a decorative phrase employed to give the American constitution a handsome rhetorical send-off? No! Perish the thought! It was doubtless the honest intention of the founders of our government that the people, the great mass—all the people of the new republic—should enjoy the conditions of universal prosperity, contentment and happiness as fellow-citizens, on terms of equal privilege and equal opportunity. But see what we have come to! Instead of the "general prosperity" of the many, we have a very special prosperity of the few, and a "life and death struggle" with poverty on the part of the many, who are exploited and enslaved by the few. And yet, on the Fourth of July, we make ourselves hoarse while the "orator of the day" demonstrates that "we are the wealthiest people and ours the grandest country on earth."

To complete the foundations of our government, the fourth corner stone was: "To secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." This is a most cheering promise and a prophecy of exceeding largeness. Popular liberty is universally held to be not only the prime prerequisite of a high civilization, but the very soul and potency which creates from its own resources everything else desirable and worthy in human life. Who, then, can estimate in its fullness all that is implied in "the blessings of liberty"?

## 2. *A Frightful Contrast.*

And here let us take a more extended survey of our actual conditions, in contrast with the splendid program mapped out for our country by our patriotic forefathers. There is no need to offend the intelligent reader with statistics to show that our country has reached the old-world conditions of great wealth and great poverty. Statistics are useful only when argument is needed. They belong to the earlier stages of discovery, when people are beginning to get their eyes open. Our economic developments have passed that stage. The eyes of all are now fully open to the glaring fact that a very small percentage of the people have come into possession and control of the great mass of the material wealth of the country, and as a natural consequence, have reduced the masses of the people to a condition of feudal dependence, tenancy and a constantly intensifying struggle against poverty; for, in the very nature of things, the proverb must always be true that "The rich ruleth over the poor, and the borrower is servant to the lender."

Nothing is plainer than that those who own and control the wealth of a country are virtually the owners of the people of that country, and the absolute arbiters of their opportunity to live. It is no mystery to puzzle the student of political economy. It is a simple question of arithmetic—addition and subtraction.

It is a manifest principle in the science of economics that a proper balance must be maintained between production and consumption—supply and demand; in other words, that the gross amount of wealth in any country must be kept on a parity with the aggregate demands or needs of all the people. The disturbance of this balance either way will at once result in abnormal conditions. If the

amount of wealth becomes greater than the demand, it immediately ceases to be wealth, simply because there is no demand for it. On the other hand, if the amount of wealth falls short of the aggregate needs of the people want will inevitably be felt somewhere in proportion to the shortage. If the want were shared equally it might be very slight; but if unequally it amounts to poverty with the unfortunate.

Now in view of these simple principles of a just and rational economy, is it not plain that where some have a surplus of wealth—even the least redundancy—others will experience a deficiency? And when the redundancy accumulates to many millions in the hands of the few, who is so blind as not to see how dreadful must be the destitution and misery of countless thousands?

It is estimated that the aggregate wealth of the United States amounts to about one thousand dollars per capita for every man, woman and child of the nation—a sum sufficient to place the comforts and conveniences of our best civilization within the reach of all the people. But see what has happened. There are hundreds of our people that have ten million dollars per capita! What this means of poverty, struggle, hunger, rags, ignorance, crime and misery for tens of thousands, let our slums and tenement dens, sweat-shops and factory hells, and the potter's field give answer.

“Look on this picture, then on that.” A dinner party of twenty persons was recently served in New York City, the bill of fare amounting to one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four dollars. In the same city, about the same time, thirty-five little children in the tenement hells died within twenty-four hours from heat, starvation, and want of fresh air.

In the same great city are thirty thousand working girls whose wages are not sufficient to support life; while a single wedding in the circle of our American "nobility" foots up the sum of three hundred and fifty-four thousand dollars in wedding presents, special trains and entertainment of millionaire guests.

Again, think of American citizens, like Richard Croker and Pierpont Morgan, buying fancy English bull pups and Scotch colliers at four thousand dollars to eight thousand five hundred dollars each, while thousands of American women, under the same flag and of the same blood as the mothers, wives and sisters of these men, are wearing out their wretched lives in the sweat-shops, making shirts and trousers at from three to six cents a pair.

But the latest and most astounding emphasis given to this unjust and monstrous disparity between the very rich and the very poor is the almost incredible fact recently brought to light, that one of the great trusts is paying its president a salary of a million dollars a year! Over eighty thousand dollars a month! Over twenty thousand dollars a week! Over three thousand dollars a day! And yet some of our innocent "nobility" are wondering why there is so much discontent among the working people who produce all this wealth by their labor at an average wage of less than two dollars a day, even when they have the good fortune to get a job at all at the hands of their masters. Why this ghastly contrast? Because monstrous wealth and monstrous poverty are the inevitable counterparts of each other. They are the positive and negative poles of a false civilization. A country can no more have millionaires without paupers than robbers without victims, or masters without slaves.

In reality, what is it but slavery, this servile dependence

of labor on capital, and the pittance which the laborer receives of his earnings? It is not only slavery, but a worse slavery than that of the negroes of the South, which led to the horrors of the civil war.

### 3. *The Two Kinds of Slavery.*

The following comparison of the two slaveries (from *The Coming Nation*) is drawn with a bold hand, and is as true as it is bold:

"Yes, there is a difference between the great American freeman who works for wages and the chattel slave of long ago. The master had to feed, clothe and care for the slave, whether he had work or not. They don't have to do that for the wage slave.

"The master had to hunt up slaves and buy them. The wage-slaves hunt up a master, and offer themselves for a bare existence.

"The black slave was put up to the highest bidder. The wage slave puts himself up, and underbids his fellows for the privilege of work.

"The black slave never had any fear of want. The wage slave lives in continual dread of want.

"The chattel slave had a permanent job at a certain price—an assured living. The wage slave never has a permanent job, and is seldom sure of an unchanged rate of pay for the job he has.

"The black slave was seldom overworked to his injury. The wage slave is habitually worked to the uttermost, regardless of his health.

"The chattel slave, when sick, was cared for by his master. The wage slave, when sick, shifts for himself.

"The black slave was never forced to imperil his life in the white man's war. The wage slave by draft is forced

to fight if he fails to see that it is his duty to volunteer.

"Yes, there is a difference, but altogether in favor of chattel slavery."

This linking together of chattel slavery and wage slavery in the minds of the people is not of recent origin; it is not an invention of the Socialists. Many years ago—soon after the close of our civil war—Wendell Phillips, whose voice and pen were ever eloquent in the cause of human liberty, whether of white or black, sent forth to his countrymen and to the world this warning message:

"The war extended the nominal area of freedom, so as to include the black man, but it did not make him free; nor will he or his white brothers ever be free until both he and they can retain in their pockets the wealth which they create."

And again :

"I hail the labor movement. It is our only hope for democracy. At the time of the anti-slavery agitation I was not sure whether we would come out of the struggle with one republic or two, but republican I knew we would still be. Now I am not confident, indeed, that we shall come out of this storm as a republic unless the labor movement succeeds. Having abolished chattel slavery, the question now is : Capital and Labor."

#### 4. *Words that Burn and Thoughts That Breathe.*

When will a majority of the people wake up to the grim and startling paradox that under a constitution based on popular liberty and a common prosperity they are in reality passing rapidly into the condition of poverty and slavery ? It is a hopeful sign that so many are already awake. It is still more encouraging that some of the leading intel-

lects of the world are not only aroused to the situation, but are sending out the alarm with no uncertain sound. Read these strong words of Ridpath :

“For some time it has been my purpose, when opportunity should offer, to call the attention of the American people to the fact that they are no longer under the government of the American Republic. They have passed under another scepter. They are subjects of another power—a power unseen, but felt in hall and hamlet, by every man and woman, by every parent and child, by every nabob and wage-serf within the borders of the United States and throughout the world.”

Listen again to the significant utterance of one of America's greatest writers, William Dean Howells, not as a partisan propagandist of any reform movement, but as an independent thinker and author who has a clear vision of the truth, and the courage to proclaim it to the world :

“Till a man is independent, he is not free. The man who is in danger of want is not a free man; and the country which does not guard him against this danger, or does not insure him the means of a livelihood, is not a free country, though it may be the freest of ‘free’ countries. Liberty and poverty are incompatible; and if the poverty is extreme, liberty is impossible. The unrest which we call ‘labor troubles’ is nothing more nor less than an endeavor to regain the liberty which the working class are dispossessed of.”

Mr. J. R. Sovereign, formerly a noted labor leader, tells with terseness and sarcasm the bitter truth about the kind of liberty the working people have :

“Labor is free to fight the battles, pay the taxes, and produce the wealth. Labor is free to pay trust prices for food, to pay tribute to Shylock, and free to beg for leave

to toil. Labor is free to work for what it can get; free to live in over-crowded tenement houses in back alleys, and free to vote the monopoly ticket or be discharged. Labor is free to work out fines under vagrant laws, to sleep in jails, and live on bread and water. Labor is free to starve, free to die, and free to fill a place in the potter's field."

Once more, as a strange, sad commentary on the preamble to our American constitution, read the brief but burning question asked by Henry James, one of the most forceful thinkers and writers of the age :

" What does the paltry evil-doing of even our criminals amount to as compared with our organized inclemency of man to man, when myriads of our fellow creatures are starving for the bare food of the body, while the gambling houses and brothels are recognized as necessities of our social fabric, and the interests of one class are organized in ruthless hostility to those of all others ? "

##### *5. Cold-Blooded Words that Freeze the Heart.*

If anything further is needed to intensify the colors of this frightful contrast between our republic as it is and our republic as it ought to be, read the utterances of the leading newspapers of the country, as representatives of the rich and powerful against the laborer and the poor. The items here given appeared in the various papers during the terrible crisis of the labor agitation which came so near plunging the nation into another civil war only a decade ago, when thousands of unemployed men were driven to organized violence by the desperation of enforced idleness and hunger—a danger by no means yet passed, but only temporarily suspended now and then by a hectic flush of "prosperity" of that delusive and short-lived kind

always present in war-fevers. But now let us hear what the great organs of our moneyed aristocracy have to say about workingmen who are reduced to destitution and hunger by the exploitations of the wealthy:

The New York Times expresses its sentiments in regard to our American wage slaves briefly and piously as follows:

"The American laborer must make up his mind henceforth not to be so much better off than the European laborer. Men must be content to work for less wages. In this way working men will be nearer that station in life to which it has pleased God to call them."

Now, if it were known with certainty that the New York Times is really the official organ of the Divine Administration, and that it speaks with authority on that subject, its plain declaration, thus solemnly announcing to the world that God is "standing in" with the millionaires against the common people, ought to put an end to all controversy about the matter. But until such certainty is established some people will be slow to believe that God is in any way responsible for the spoliation of the poor by the rich.

The Chicago Times said: "Hand grenades should be thrown among those who are clamoring for higher wages. By this means they would be taught a valuable lesson, and other strikers would take warning from their fate."

Of these destitute working men a writer in Scribner's Magazine declared: "The man who is compelled to travel in search of work has no rights except those which society sees fit to bestow. He has no more rights than the sow that wallows in the gutter, or the lost dog that hovers around the city square."

The Philadelphia Times, in an editorial, said: "It would

be a great relief if a few calamity howlers were quietly but firmly taken out and shot."

In a Chicago Tribune editorial we have these words : "The simplest plan, probably, when one is not a member of a humane society, is to put a little strychnine or arsenic in the meat or other supplies furnished tramps to eat."

During one of the periods of hunger and perilous agitation among the unemployed, the late Thomas Scott, railroad president and millionaire, amused himself and other well-fed people by facetiously remarking of the starving toilers, "Give them a rifle diet for a few days, and see how they like that kind of bread."

Whitelaw Reid, speaking approvingly of the organized money power over the people, said :

"The time is near when the bankers will feel themselves compelled to act strongly. Meanwhile, a very good thing has been done. The machinery is finished by which, in any emergency, the financial corporations of the East can act together, on a single day's notice, with such power that no act of Congress can overcome or resist their decision."

After marveling at the temerity of such a statement by an American citizen, it may be asked, Why should Congress be expected to antagonize the power that created it ?

The New York Tribune, in reference to the future of the American farmer, in view of his rapid decline under the pressure of mortgage foreclosures, asks : "Is there any deliverance ?" and answers its question as follows :

"There seems to be but one remedy, and that must come—a change of ownership of the soil; the creation of a class of land owners on the one hand, and of tenant farmers on the other; something similar, in both cases, to that which has long existed, and now exists, in the old

countries of Europe, and similar also to a system that is common in our own state of California. Everything seems ripe for the change. Half the farms in the country are ready to be sold, if buyers would appear, at less than their value twenty or thirty years ago. They need only judicious outlay to make them as productive as ever. Few farmers can hope to provide their sons with farms of their own, and there is no place for these young men in the overcrowded cities."

What a cold-blooded picture for an American editor to draw of what is happening under the flag of "the best country on earth!"

## CHAPTER V.

### "A GREAT CLOUD OF WITNESSES."

#### 1. *Corruption in High Places.*

It would be superfluous to add further testimony to that already furnished in confirmation of the desperate economic conditions brought on by a competitive life.

But there is another feature of the case more grave and portentous of evil than the mere economic stress, though closely connected with it in the relation of effect to cause. This is the political and moral corruption in high places under the dominant sway of the money power. For it must again be remembered that these evils have been brought upon the country, not through any special badness or evil designs of any political party as such, but through the inevitable workings of certain economic conditions which under the vicious influence of commercial greed, born of our competitive life and the emergent necessities of the hour, naturally dominated the party in power and inaugurated an era of political corruption through the manipulations of the moneyed interests of the country; a corruption which no political party supported by the money power could have escaped without a degree of political morality wholly beyond expectation.

The remarkable and varied testimony which is now to follow, setting forth this deplorable corruption and degeneracy of our American body politic, is most strongly em-

phasized by the fact that it is no *ex-parte* testimony, but comes from all sources, regardless of party affiliations. In fact, the witnesses to be introduced here as the original complainants in the indictment are almost without exception men in high public positions in the ranks of the political party under whose administration the evils complained of have been developed. But this was a few years ago, when some office-holders dared to be patriots first and partisans second.

## 2. *A Prophetic Veto.*

It may seem going very far back for witnesses, but it is richly worth the reader's while to place on the stand to begin with that grand old statesman-hero, Andrew Jackson. Though dead, he yet speaketh, and his words are more alive today than ever before; but what was only a fear and a foresight then is intense realization now. Even so long ago, prophetic statesmen like Jefferson and Jackson foresaw in the incipient national banking system the hatching of a dragon which was to menace the liberties of the nation. They both sounded the alarm and did what they could to strangle the young monster. But their successors, less vigilant, less democratic and not as incorruptible by the allurements of office, wealth and power, have dallied with the wily creature till it is now full grown and crushing the people beneath its merciless power.

President Jackson, vetoing the National Banking Bill of 1832, told Congress, in language severely faithful, what was happening to the country and what was the duty of the people's representatives in the premises. In that veto he said :

“Most of the difficulties our government encounters, and

most of the dangers impending over our Union, have sprung from the abandonment of the legitimate objects of government by our legislation. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them rich by acts of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires, we have in the results of our legislation arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundations of the Union. If we can not at once, in justice to interests vested in improvident legislation, make our government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prostitution of our government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy."

### 3. *Carlyle's Prediction.*

At a later date, but long before our economic troubles had become serious, the deep-seeing Carlyle, though a disinterested foreigner, made the following remarkable prediction concerning our country :

"The republic west of us will have its trial period, its darkest of all hours. It is traveling the high road to that direful day. And this scourge will not come amid famine's horrid stride, nor will it come by ordinary punitive judgments. It will come as a hiatus in statecraft, a murder bungle in policy. It will be when health is intact, crops abundant and the munificent hand open. Then so called statesmen will cry, 'Over production,' the people will go to the ballot-box amid hunger and destitution (but sur-

rounded by the glitter of self-rule), and ratify by their ballots the monstrous falsehood (over production) uttered by misstatement and vindicated by the same ballot, the infamous lie (over production) thrown upon the breeze by servile editors through a corrupt press. And this brings ruin upon their country, serfdom upon themselves and oppression upon their children."

4. *How the Civil War put the Money Power into the Saddle, and Lincoln's Solemn Warning.*

Coming nearer home now, we pass that critical period in our country's history, the Civil War, which really inaugurated a new era in American politics and economics.

The war debt furnished the occasion for the money power to assert itself as never before. To meet the emergency, the Government, instead of issuing its own money and dealing directly with the people at large and in their best interests in accordance with our Constitution, *borrowed* money from rich men and corporations; and as always happens, in becoming debtor to these men, the whole nation found itself beholden to them—in fact literally in bondage to them—to such an extent that, instead of being able to exercise the functions of a free and independent government with supreme authority and oversight in the interest of all its people alike, it took second place in the rank of national power and became a subordinate agency in the service of its rich creators, who thenceforward became the supreme power, and have since successfully manipulated our congresses and legislatures in their own interest.

Abraham Lincoln, that great and honest statesman of the war period, saw and described, as in solemn vision, what was coming as a consequence of this compromise of

the Government with the money power. His letter to his Illinois friend just before the close of the war, and of his own earthly existence, will be as immortal as his memory:

“Yes, we may all congratulate ourselves that this cruel war is nearing its close. It has cost a vast amount of treasure and blood. The flower of the American youth has been offered on our country’s altar that the nation might live. It has been a trying hour for the Republic. But I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.”

5 *More Significant Warnings and Confessions of Strong and Candid Men at Close of War, and later on.*

Now listen to the eloquent and burning words of Senator John J. Ingalls, a few years later on, when Lincoln’s predictions began to be fulfilled :

“We cannot disguise the truth that we are on the verge of an impending revolution. Old issues are dead. The people are arraying themselves on one side or the other of a portentous contest. On one side is capital, formidably entrenched in privilege, arrogant from continued triumph, conservative, tenacious of old theories, demanding new concessions, enriched by domestic levy and foreign com-

merce, and struggling to adjust all values to its own gold standard. On the other side is labor, asking for employment, striving to develop domestic industries, battling with the forces of nature and subduing the wilderness. Labor, starving and sullen in the cities, resolutely determined to overthrow a system under which the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer,—a system which gives to a Vanderbilt or a Gould wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and condemns the poor to poverty from which there is no escape or refuge but the grave. Demands for justice have been met with indifference and disdain. The laborers of the country, asking for employment, are treated like impudent mendicants begging for bread.”

And remember here, the man who uttered these words was not a reform orator, but a republican senator under a republican administration. But this was at an earlier stage in the development of the money power, when even a United States senator could tell the truth about the condition of the country without being read out of his party as an anarchist.

Next, and in the same strain, let us hear the strong and candid words of another man in high position in the dominant party of those freer days, the Hon. William Windom, formerly United States senator and Secretary of the Treasury :

“I repeat today in substance words uttered seven years ago, that there are in this country four men who, in the matter of taxation, possess and frequently exercise powers which neither Congress nor any state legislature would care to exert—powers which, if exercised in Great Britain, would shake the throne to its foundation. These men may, at any time, and for any reason satisfactory to themselves, by a stroke of the pen, reduce the value of property in

the United States by hundreds of millions. They may at their own will and pleasure embarrass business, depress one city or locality and build up another, enrich one individual and ruin his competitors, and when complaint is made, coolly reply, 'What are you going to do about it?' The channels of commerce being owned and controlled by one man or a few men, what is to restrain corporate power or fix a limit to its exactions upon the people? What is to hinder these men from depressing or inflating the value of all kinds of property to suit their own caprice or avarice, and thereby gathering into their own coffers the wealth of the nation? Where's the limit to such a power as this? And what shall be said of the spirit of a free people who will submit without a protest to be thus bound hand and foot?"

The late Robert Ingersoll, of noted memory for the brilliancy of his genius, described with graphic eloquence and pathos the wrongs and miseries of our present social and economic conditions as follows:

"Capital has always claimed, and still claims, the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the laborers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, club-house or parlor. Working men, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and the navy, the legislative, the judicial and executive departments. When the rich combine it is for the purpose of 'exchanging ideas.' When the poor combine, it is 'conspiracy.' If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a 'mob.' If they defend themselves, it is 'treason.' How is it that the rich control the departments of the Government? In this country the political

power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative and judicial departments? Will they ever find how powerful they are? A cry comes from the down-trodden, from the despised, from men who despair, from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner under which the noblest and the bravest battle for the right.

“In the days of cannibalism, the strong devouring the weak actually ate their flesh. In spite of all the laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless, still live on the weak, the unfortunate and the foolish. True, they do not eat their flesh or drink their blood, but they live on their labor, on their self-denial, their weariness and want. The poor man, who deforms himself by toil, who labors for wife and child through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to the grave without ever having had one luxury—has been the food of others. He has been devoured by his fellow-men. The poor woman, living in the bare and lonely room, cheerless and fireless, sewing night and day to keep starvation from her child, is slowly being eaten by her fellow-men. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life—the failure, the anxiety, the fears, the withered hopes, the bitter realities, the hunger, the crime, the humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man has ever lived upon his fellow-man.”

In 1894, Senator Cameron addressed a remarkable letter to the convention of the National Republican League, which met in Denver, Colorado. It was ostensibly a letter

of regrets, but in reality a warning appeal to the Republican party to reconsider and turn back from the ruinous policy it had inaugurated. It is in fact—barring the fallacy of intrinsic money—a political argument of marked ability, eminently worthy the head and the heart of a great and honest statesman. Though relating to only a single feature of our corrupt and oppressive system, the indictment is a courageous and honest utterance for a leader in the dominant party, and forms an interesting picture for that same dominant party of today to look upon. The following paragraph from that letter is a sufficient reminder :

“All Europe and all America are in trouble. Every one admits that the world stands on the edge of a revolution, social and political, but every one shrinks from it. Neither north nor south, east nor west, neither capitalist nor laborer, wants to create caste or classes, or to spread misery, oppression or violence. We all see danger before us. We all want to avoid it. Our only dispute is about the path. To those of us who have had chiefly in mind the struggle between silver and gold, this is the question which for the moment presses hardest. The single gold standard seems to us to be working ruin and violence that nothing can withstand. If its influence is continued for the future at the rate of its action during the twenty years since the gold standard took possession of the world, some generation, not very remote, will see on the broad continent of America only a half-dozen overgrown cities keeping guard over a mass of capital and lending it out to a population of dependent laborers on mortgages upon their growing crops and handiwork. Such sights have been common enough in the world's history, but against it we all rebel.”

But the days of these faithful warnings and candid con-

fessions from public officials in the dominant party are no more. Public affairs are no longer administered with reference to the general good, but first of all in the interest of the party in power. The first duty of public office now is to be faithful, not to the people, but to the party and its financial supporters. The congressman or senator of today, who would criticise the doings of his party or antagonize the administration, would be regarded with the same wonderment as a wheel or a pulley in a machine-shop attempting to reverse the order of its motion and run contrary to the whole gearing. In fact, it has at last come to this, that the government of the United States is a government of the party-machine, by the party-machine and for the party-machine.

Bishop Satterlee states the case strongly, as follows :

“The political machine is merely the political expression of certain capitalist interests. Behind every machine in the land—democratic machines in democratic districts and republican machines in republican districts—the capitalist has stood and directed every move. Had he withdrawn his support for one hour, in the earlier days of the machine, it would have gone to pieces. The great railway and industrial corporations behind the machine placed their tens of thousands of positions in the hands of the machine leader, to be bestowed as reward for faithful political service, and to be taken away for insubordination. The tentacles of that machine monster reach much farther than it was intended they should reach. They reach into every corner of industrial life. This view of the case explains that ‘low moral level,’ that ‘popular apathy,’ which fails to move at the hysterical cry of the reformer, now that the capitalist, having duly considered the matter, has come to the con-

clusion that he is a fixture forever in the universe, needs no longer his political middle-man, and is determined to resist the payment of the bounty to the machine. 'People must live somehow,' even if the now highly moral capitalist, like Tallyrand, doesn't see any reason for it. There have been Frankensteins before now !

"The bosses of these machines, both republicans and democrats, act on the principle that every man, from the day-laborer to the congressman and the senator, has his price; and therefore, from the political primary upward, they appeal to the selfish passions of men by a system of bribes. To these political demagogues, the welfare of the nation is nothing, the Constitution is nothing, public trust is nothing, the government of the United States is nothing; but the offices of that government are the treasury of good things out of which they are to reward the selfish greed of their followers. We would most strongly emphasize the fact that, apart from all results of immigration, our own native-born American citizens are the clan chiefly responsible for the present low state of political morals. At the bottom, the chief cause why American political life fails to interest the noblest and most influential class of American citizens is because of its own want of nobleness, because of its sordiness, its low moral level, its debasing associations and its slavery to the spirit of selfish greed."

Again, let it be observed that these arraignments of our political corruption are not the work of political reformers and agitators, but are taken from other sources entirely. They are the utterances either of men who were identified with the ruling party itself, or those who were wholly disinterested in partizan politics, such as Christian

ministers of high standing and influence, as also distinguished secular writers and thinkers, all of whom are presumed to have been prompted in their utterances solely by their honest convictions as to the truth and serious import of what they were saying.

Here again read the solemn, almost tragical, appeal of another strong and honest clergyman, Bishop Potter, dedicating a church in New York City :

“The growth of wealth and luxury, wicked, wasteful and wanton, as before God I declare that luxury to be, has been matched, step by step, by a deepening and deadening poverty which has left whole neighborhoods of people practically without hope and without aspiration. At such a time for the church of God to sit still and be content with theories of its duty outlawed by time and long ago demonstrated to be grotesquely inadequate to the demands of the living situation, this is to deserve the scorn of men and the curse of God. Take my word for it, men and brethren, unless you and I, and all those who have any gift or stewardship of talents or means, of whatever sort, are willing to get up out of our sloth and ease and selfish dilletantism of service, and get down among the people who are battling amid their poverty and ignorance—young girls for their chastity, young men for their better ideal of righteousness, old and young alike for one clear ray of the immortal courage and the immortal hope—then verily the church in its stately splendor, its apostolic orders, its venerable ritual, its decorous and dignified conventions, is revealed as simply a monstrous and insolent impertinence.”

In the same great city, behold now the spectacle of an old party politician, an ex-mayor, with conscience awakened to the enormity of our sin, but still in mental darkness

and confusion as to the remedy, expostulating with his fellow rich men to do something for the miserable masses in their poverty. And how ? By the bestowment of "charities"—that universal opiate which keeps the guilty conscience at false easement under our spurious civilization. Listen to his words :

"Since 1840, our national wealth has increased five times as fast as our population. Who shall say that with that wonderful increase in wealth there are not means in abundance to remove all the misery and all the evil conditions among the working classes, which at present are stains upon our body politic ? The advance of industry which has brought us this wealth, beyond the wildest dreams of avarice, has also brought on conditions which make it an absolute impossibility for some people to live decent, respectable lives.

"The rich have not even begun to do what they ought to do. Men that I almost worshiped for their generosity and solicitude for those that have less are not giving in proportion to their wealth the half that was given by their families a generation ago. Have we the right to take all this wealth and do nothing to correct the evils created in its production ? Can you accept these millions and shut your eyes to the evils which weave themselves about the producers ? Can any one be content with such conditions ? Good God ! is this the end to which we have been working all these centuries ? For heaven's sake, is this the result of our industrial development, and must our prosperity as a nation be purchased at such a staggering price ?

"If these terrible tenements, these over-crowded districts, these dark and foul dwelling-places, and all the at-

tending miseries, must go with industry, then I would to God that every industrial center could be destroyed, as were Sodom and Gomorrah of old, and men driven back to the land, where at least they can have the breezes and the green grass, and the sunshine and the blue of heaven to look up to.

"But there is a thing more melancholy, perhaps, confronting us at the close of this century. While society is organized for the good of the people, government is not. Public officials, paid to punish evil-doers, are instead protecting vice and iniquity and growing fat on the revenue. On every side there is an almost wanton display of luxury and splendor. We are undertaking great public works, and yet—poor miserable beings that we are—we are not able to establish among ourselves a pure and decent city government."

But returning more directly to the main thought now before us—the self-confessed corruption of our present political life—take the unblushing confessions of two of our great representative newspapers of the two great political parties respectively. Said the republican New York Press editorially, on February 25, 1899, in reference to the republican legislature and party in New York state :

"Legislation in these days has come to be a matter of private contract between corporations and others who have the money to pay and the party leaders. Laws are not made in the capitol. They are made in the offices of private citizens, who are paid by those who wish them made."

Said the democratic New York Journal editorially, on March 10, 1900, in reference to the democratic government and party in New York city :

"We have on hand now the most thorough-going, con-

scientiously energetic, neatly organized force of public black-mailers that ever disgraced a city. This whole city and its entire administration need disinfecting."

6. *As Others See Us.*

Even disinterested foreigners, visiting our country, are so deeply impressed with our wide-spread public corruption that they return home and publish our shame to the world; and so conscious are we of deserving the scandal that no American has ever lifted voice or pen in protest or reply. If we are too much accustomed to our own nakedness to notice it, let us take a look at our picture in the London Echo, and see ourselves as others see us. The editor of that paper, W. T. Stead, one of the most vigorous of English writers, after a personal visit among us and an actual observation of our methods for a time, writes up our politics and general conditions as follows:

"American politics is so rotten that it stinks. Every one knows it but nobody cares. America is no longer a republic. It is a plutocracy. The president is merely the creation of the bank directors, railroad kings and coal barons, and it is the same with the governors of the states. The poor whine about their poverty and gnaw their crusts of bread, but can always be relied upon to vote for the rich, and nine-tenths of them would shoulder their muskets and lay down their lives in defense of the rights of the people who rob them. A nation such as this, in which one million plutocrats tyrannize over sixty million slaves, will be either overthrown by a foreign foe or die of gangrene. The various labor organizations neither think together, vote together, nor work together, and they have no money to buy votes, lawyers and judges.

Soldiers and police shoot down laboring people, and are cheered on in their bloody work by the monopolists and the clergy. But the day will soon come when there will be a horrible dance to death, lighted up by burning houses and the music of cries and groans and dynamite bombs. Rich idlers amuse themselves at Newport and Tuxedo; poor workers toil ceaselessly in the mine and the din of the mill. Young men and women dawdle over iced champagne and oyster parties; old men and women pick rotten food out of the garbage cans. Lap-dogs are driven through Central Park to air; children die of overwork in filthy garrets. Piety in the White House enjoying the fruits of bribery; fidelity in the tenement house enduring the punishment of uprightness. These are the signs of the times in America today—signs that point to calamity too dreadful to imagine, but which nothing can avert.”

Another English writer has this to say of our outlook :

“Among other monstrous offsprings, the Republic has given birth to a variety of kings, and among these the railroad autocrat may justly take to himself the original style of ‘king of kings.’

“The Republic of the United States is essentially a private-property-protection association. The fell handiwork of rent-monger, interest-monger and profit-monger, is everywhere visible to such an extent that it is calculated that one per cent. of the population owns seventy-one per cent. of the entire wealth of the united States, while the ‘ninety and nine’ are left to scramble for the remaining twenty-nine per cent.

“So overrun is the land with mortgages, on every hand, that if the ancient Greek plan of recording them by the erection of stone tablets were had recourse to, the United

States would appear something like a vast cemetery. Between the mortgagee on the one hand and the bonanza farmer on the other, the once splendid yeomanry of the Republic is being rapidly squeezed to death."

"Our American brethren have a terribly 'hard row to hoe,' but they may be trusted, if any men can, somehow to work out their own salvation; and it may also be that of the European people. Christendom is wistfully waiting for the social word of command; and if it is destined to come from the other side of the Atlantic, I for one will gladly concede the honor of the initiative."

This general corruption of our political life has become so notorious—so much a part of the common understanding of the people—that it already fills our literature as a theme for the novelist, a jest for the humorist and a target for the arrow of the satirist. Take the following examples, not for their intrinsic value, but only as illustrations. Bolton Hall humorously characterizes the workings of our present "business" methods of looking after each other's interest, as follows :

"They sheared the lamb twelve times a year,  
To get some money to buy some beer :  
The lamb thought this extremely queer,  
Poor little snow-white lamb !"

"God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," said the Deacon.

"I will shut the gate of the field so as to keep him warm," said the philanthropist.

"If you give me the tags of wool," said the charity-clipper, "I'll let the poor creature have half."

"The lambs we have always with us," said the wool-broker.

"Lambs must always be shorn," said the business man, "hand me the shears."

"We should leave him enough wool to make him a coat," said the profit-sharer.

"His condition is improving," said the land-owner, "for his fleece will be longer next year."

"We should prohibit cutting his flesh when we shear," said the legislator.

"But I intend," said the radical, "to stop this shearing."

The others united to throw him out, and then they divided the wool.

#### 7. *Corruption of the Public Press.*

Here is a somewhat droll satire directed against the unprincipled venality and hypocrisy of the public press, administration organs in particular. A Kansas editor wrote to ex-governor St. John of that state, asking his views on the question, "How would the devil run a newspaper if he were an editor?" The following reply, adapted to the current events of the day, was received and published:

"The first thing the devil would do would be to write a salutatory. He would give it an intensely religious tone. He would shout for 'Old Glory,' and scream for liberty, and pitch into the Mormons, but would not say a word about the thousands of slaves, and our government-salaried sultan and his seventeen wives under the protection of the American flag, on the Island of Zulu. He would openly favor bi-metalism, and secretly work to put the government on a single gold standard. He would talk long and loud about the people's money, but place them at the mercy of the national banks to get it. He would declare that the Cubans were and of right ought to be free, and then refuse them their freedom. He would denounce fraud, and

then send word to the canners of rotten beef to clean up and get ready to be whitewashed. He would stand quietly by and, without even a protest, see the organized trusts rob the people of hundreds of millions annually, and call it prosperity. He would advocate the levying of a high tariff tax on the poor man's food and clothing, and tell him it was 'protection.' He would be as quiet as a graveyard while we were burning negroes at the stake and punching their eyes out with a red-hot iron here in our own country, but would make his columns speak in thunder-tones in favor of sending our soldiers eight thousand miles from home to shoot our civilization and Milwaukee beer into the Filipinos. In a desperate frenzied effort of a powerful monarchy, which has been a robber and an oppressor of weak nations, to crush by brute force a brave people in South Africa, who are struggling as our forefathers struggled, four generations ago, for the right of self-government, the devil would be on the side of the monarchy and gloat over the downfall of the republic. He would take his position in his newspaper that, by the providence of God, Porto Rico was the property of the United States, and that her people were our people; and by this same divine providence, and by cry of 'benevolent assimilation,' and to impress upon the Porto Ricans the lesson that 'whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth,' and then put a fifteen per cent. tariff on the products of their labor. He would indulge in long prayers for temperance, and editorially wink at the Klondike jointists to close up during the dull season, but throw their doors right open again just before the veterans' next pay-day. He would stand for McKinley and bitterly denounce Bryan; and finally his satanic majesty would make a will, in which he would provide, in case of his death or removal from the United States, his

newspaper should be turned over to Mark Hanna."

8. *What do We think of our own Shame?*

At this point, with this picture of our own public corruption before us, a grave question presents itself. It is the question, not whether our condition is really as bad as the picture makes it, but what is to be expected of people or a government believing such a picture of itself to be true. How is it possible for the great mass of the common people to cherish a hearty loyalty to a government which they believe to be untrue to their interests? If "protection and patriotism are reciprocal," as Calhoun declared them to be, the country will be dear to the people only when the people are dear to the country. Love of country is a beautiful and wholesome sentiment when the country is a shield and protector. Enthusiasm for a flag is all right as long as the flag is a symbol of guardianship of the citizen's interest and well-being. But if flag and country and armies and courts and legislators and the whole machinery of government, become the special protectors of the strong against the weak, the rich against the poor, the classes against the masses, then patriotism either dies out or else becomes a mockery and a delusion, for the amusement and quiescence of a population successfully enslaved.

It was when Roman arms were most victorious, and the Roman populace shouted loudest for the Roman eagle, that the slavery of the Roman people was most complete. Liberty is more easy to win than to maintain. It may be achieved by a single blow; but it requires eternal vigilance to preserve it.

It is time for the American people to begin at least to reflect seriously when, by common consent of the whole world, the United States government has reached a stage

of corruption and general perversion of its own vital principles so notorious that all faith in political honesty has been wrecked, and there is a general understanding that public office is only a matter of spoils; that legislatures are wielded mainly in the interests of political and commercial jobbery; that congresses are, in reality, only official sessions of national representatives transacting business for the money power and the dominant political party.

9. *How We have kept Ourselves in Countenance by Certain Delusions.*

And yet, in spite of all this enormous and self-acknowledged corruption of our body-politic, we are still kept in half decent countenance with ourselves by certain delusions respecting our real worth and dignity as a nation. And these delusions are probably doing more to retard the work of reform and postpone the day of deliverance than all other devices combined.

Our greatest delusion is our conceit of superiority to other nations. We are so accustomed to hearing and reading our self-glorifying laudations in Fourth of July and other patriotic eloquence that we naturally conclude that in some indefinite way this fine rhetoric about the Declaration of Independence, "our free institutions," "our glorious land of liberty," "the best government on earth," etc., really has some reference to our country as it is now. So we join the procession, throw Old Glory to the breeze, and proclaim ourselves first among the nations.

Natural and amiable as this self-delusion may seem in regard to one's native land, it is always best to know the truth about ourselves, even though it should have the effect

of toning down the extravagance of our patriotic enthusiasm.

One of the specific forms of this delusive self-conceit is that of our *wealth* as a nation. Strange as it may appear that the masses of people should be misled by such a fallacy, it is nevertheless true that the average American citizen is accustomed to indulge a feeling of vain-glory when he hears the vulgar boast that "we are the wealthiest nation on earth," though he knows that the wealth of the United States belongs—not to the American people, but to a few rich men and corporations. It is a pity to make the comparison, but we had an exact parallel to this in the boasts of negro slaves of the South, that they belonged to "de most 'ristocratic fam'lies in de country."

Another fond delusion in which the exploited masses find false comfort in their struggling poverty is our fine fiction of *equality*. Do we not read in our Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal"? Are we not reminded of this glorious fact every Fourth of July by our eloquent orators? To be sure, our eloquent orators have not taken the pains to explain exactly what the words "created equal" mean. That would be too prosy, and would spoil whole flights of rhetoric. What matters it if people do have only vague ideas about equality, so long as this vagueness makes them feel proud that they are American citizens, and that "all men were *created* equal, even if things have changed somewhat since the creation? It will be a glad day for the world when the lives and destinies of men are shaped by the meaning of things, and not by the empty sound of words. It will be well with our country when the people awaken to the fact that the equality meant in our Declaration of Independence—equality of opportunity—has no existence today, and can have none under existing political and economic

conditions. A true civic equality, as there intended, involves an equal right to live and to the *means* of living—equal access to the bounties of nature and the conveniences of civilization, both of which are impossible under our present “system” of monopoly and special privilege. We no longer have even our once prized “equality under the law;” but when the day of equality begins, the day of special privilege will end. All pretense of equality among citizens is but a farce in any country whose system of economy permits part of the people to forestall and defeat the natural opportunities of their fellow citizens for procuring a livelihood. We only stultify ourselves when we talk of equality under a government which either grants or permits to one citizen advantages which circumscribe the advantages of others.

#### 10. *Political Liberty and Industrial Slavery.*

But the most specious and fatal delusion, hypnotizing the people and holding them in false repose, still lurks in the magic word “Liberty,”—again only a word, a symbol, and like the word “Equality,” but vaguely comprehended by the masses who are deluded by it. Strange as it may seem, it is under the word “Liberty,” and with the conceit of freedom, that nations and individuals are sometimes most effectually enslaved. And the delusion consists mainly in mistaking a part of liberty for the whole. This is the mistake which is threatening to wreck the American Republic today. In the popular mind the meaning of “liberty” has been limited to one of its phases—the *political* phase. No blame attaches to the people for this. The occasion for emphasizing the economic or industrial phase of liberty did not arise till within a comparatively recent period of our history. In the earlier stages of individual industry and free competition no danger seemed

to threaten industrial liberty; but since the new economic order has come with its labor-saving (or labor-destroying) machinery, its specialized industries, its concentrations of capital, its enfranchised corporate monopolies and over-riding trusts and combines, the people are awaking to the fact that there is another kind of liberty more vital to their interests than the liberty of voting. It is the liberty to *live*. They are finding that political freedom is only a part of true civil liberty—in fact, only a pre-requisite to it; that political franchise is no guarantee against industrial serfdom; and that a democracy of free voters may, at the same time, be a despotism of industrial slaves. It is precisely this discovery that is shaping the structure of our civilization, and is destined to revolutionize our entire system, political and religious as well as economic. As a strong writer has well said: “No republic can long exist in *name* alone. An avowed monarchy or despotism is preferable to a state in which the people are deceived by a pretense of liberty, while cunningly enslaved by their own political action. The republic of today is not the one of which Jefferson dreamed. That republic is yet to be made possible.”

And that this view of the case is not limited to the awakening masses of our own country is evident by the following dreadful pen-picture drawn by that thoughtful and candid writer and citizen of the world, William T. Stead: “I have watched the rapid evolution of social democracy in England; I have studied autocracy in Russia, and theocracy in Rome, and I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia in the first years of the reaction after the murder of the late Czar, have I struck more abject submission, a more soulless despotism, than that which prevails among the masses of the (so called) free American citizens

when they are face to face with the omnipotent power of the Corporation. 'Wealth,' said a workingman bitterly to me the other day, 'has subjugated everything. It has gagged the press; it has bought up the legislature; it has corrupted the judges. Even on the universities it is laying its golden finger. The churches are in its grasp. Go where you will, up and down this country, you will find our citizens paralyzed by a sense of their own impotence. They know the injustice, they know better than any the wrongs which they suffer; they mutter curses, but they are too cowed to do anything. They have tried so often, and have been beaten so badly, they have not the heart to try again.'"

If any part of this picture is not at present true to the letter we are glad to know it is the part relating to the despondency of the people. There is a better state of hope and courage now since the spirit and work of reform have become so general. But the *fact* of our economic subjugation and industrial slavery under the Money Power, so strongly affirmed by this disinterested foreigner, no intelligent and honest man will dispute.

So much for our delusion about American "liberty, equality and fraternity."

## CHAPTER VI.

### WHAT NEXT ?

#### 1. *The Trilemma of Alternatives.*

And now we have reached the point where we are confronted by the main question: *What of the future?* What is to be the outcome of all this? Will conditions grow worse or better? Will our country go down in darkness and chaos beneath the weight of its own corruption, or is there remaining in the people a sufficiency of intelligence, virtue and manhood to seize the helm and save our ship of state?

As incidentally hinted in the beginning of this book, we have reached the crisis of a trilemma. It seems inevitable that there must be either a revolutionary conflict between labor and capital, the permanent enslavement of labor to capital, or the combination of labor and capital under a new economic order, that of collectivism, a co-operative commonwealth, in a word, *Socialism*. That this last alternative is the most probable seems clear from two important considerations:

First. It is the only hopeful view of the case. Either the destruction of our civilization by a suicidal war, or the permanent reduction of the American people to a state of vassalage under our oligarchy of wealth, seems extremely improbable, as out of keeping with the trend of modern

civilization, the genius of our republic, and the light of the twentieth century.

Second. The natural order of evolution demands the collective ownership of the means of life as the next logical step forward. A step forward it must be—not a step backward—if we are to advance along the line of peaceful evolution, and avoid falling into the chaos of a bloody revolution.

It is quite plain that all hope of solving the problem of the trust-despotism by going back to the old plan of competition and individual enterprise is utterly vain, because it is hopelessly reactionary.

## 2. "*Forward March!*" of *Destiny Toward Socialism*.

The march of destiny for the American people is steadily forward, with no retrogression or reversion to old conditions. Our present economic civilization can no more return to the old competitive and individual methods of productive and commercial industry than our present architecture can revert to the cave dwelling, navigation to the canoe, or agriculture to the crooked-stick plow. And even if it were possible to turn the dial of economic progress back fifty or a hundred years, annihilate the results of modern improvements in machinery and organized industry, and make a complete return to the old order of things, how foolish it would be to do so, since the same causes and conditions would inevitably lead again to the same results.

It would save much confusion of thought among reformers if they could understand that the wrong of our economic system is not in its industrial methods, but in its ethical principles. Our form of industrial organization is

right so far as its methods of systemization and combination into great specialized departments are concerned. In fact no other method would be possible without blotting from the calendar of our material civilization the greater part of the nineteenth century. No, the wrong is not in our method of working, but in our method of dividing the work and dividing the profits. The trouble is that under our present system a part of the people are living without working; a much greater part working without living, and the remainder neither working nor living.

This unnatural and monstrous condition has resulted from a one-sided application of the principles of Socialism in our industrial economy. It has been socialized in its productive methods, but not in its humanitarian interests. Industry is as completely organized and operated on the collective plan as if Socialism had been already established, but the products and profits of industry are still appropriated by the few as owners of the machinery.

Mr. Collis P. Huntington, not long before his death, advocated, on the ground of economy, the consolidation of all our railroads into a single system to be operated under one management. In this Mr. Huntington was a socialist as far as he went, but he stopped short at the crucial point. While he favored the co-operative plan of running the railroads, he held on to the corporative plan of ownership and profits. That makes "all the difference in the world." The Socialists, holding it to be a poor rule that does not work both ways, are in favor of consolidating the earnings as well as the management of the railroads, to the end that all the people may be benefitted, as they will be by the co-operative organization of other industries involving the means of life and prosperity for the people.

Yes, it is sometimes charged against the Socialists that

they want to "divide up," and in the sense set forth in the preceding paragraph the charge is true. Socialists want a fair and equitable division of both labor and its products among all the people, instead of some getting all the work and others all the profits, as under the present system.

That the collective (socialist) state is to come as the solution of our economic problem seems logically necessary in the regular order of progress which has marked the history of our country. Our first radical step was to pass, by revolution, from monarchy into a republic. This secured national independence and republican freedom, which was all that the conditions demanded at that time. Later on, when danger from centralization of federal power over the people began to be apprehended, there arose in Jefferson and kindred minds a spirit which demanded that our country should be not merely a republic, but a democratic republic, in which the liberties of the people should be secured against the encroachments of the ruling power. This principle became engrafted in our national life to such an extent that all American citizens, without regard to political parties, hold as the basic principle and pre-eminent characteristic of our government and all our institutions that they are democratic. This ideal of democratic liberty, though purely a political concept, served all practical purposes well enough so long as political freedom was the only kind of freedom necessary to the well-being of the people. But the startling discovery has been made that, by the marvelous transformation of our economic life within the past few decades, the people have been turned over to the machine, the corporation and the trust, and that the question of political freedom has been totally eclipsed by the paramount question of industrial freedom.

We are now near the crisis which is to inaugurate the third and grandest phase of our progressive civilization. For as surely as political freedom has to be maintained through the democracy of the ballot, economic freedom will have to be secured through the democracy of industry and wealth.

### 3. *Socialism Defined.*

We have thus arrived at the conclusion that Socialism is not merely a theory of social reform adopted by Socialists as *their* way to solve the problem of our economic distress, but the *only* way in which the problem can be solved.

*Socialism* is here to be understood in the sense given it by its present advocates, and in the impartial definitions of the word found in our latest lexicons and encyclopedias. It has here nothing to do with any of the wild and shifting crudities which may have been associated with the word in the past, nor with the misrepresentations and distortions of meaning which ignorance and prejudice have associated with the word to make it odious.

The distinctive principles and purposes of Socialism are defined with a fair degree of fulness and accuracy in the various standard books of reference of the present day as follows:

Webster's Dictionary: "A theory of society which advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."

The Standard Dictionary: "A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through public collective ownership of land and

capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is, 'To every one according to his deeds.'"

Imperial Dictionary: "The abolition of that individual action on which modern society depends, and the substitution of a regulated system of co-operative action."

The Century Dictionary: "Any theory or system of social organization which would abolish, entirely or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the members of the community."

Worcester's Dictionary: "The science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principle of co-operation for that of competition in every branch of human industry."

Universal Dictionary of the English Language: "Scientific Socialism is an economic theory which affirms that the materials from which labor produces wealth (the land) should be the property of the community. . . It seeks to substitute public co-operation for private enterprise in supplying all social needs. . . A state of society in which the functions of the government will include the organization of all the industries of the country. . . . The state would be coextensive with the whole people."

Encyclopedia Britannica: "The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity."

These definitions are brief paragraphs taken from the more or less extensive articles on the subject in the works quoted, the object, at this point, being merely to show

the essential nature and purpose of Socialism as a principle, leaving out of view, for the time being, all questions of detail as to ideals, motives, and methods of procedure in the application of the principle.

The underlying principle of Socialism is so simple that there can be no vagueness of thought as to its meaning. Its one single proposition is that the people shall cease to live in competitive conflict with one another in a selfish struggle for existence; and shall substitute for this fierce conflict a common interest in the means of life by a system of collective and co-operative industry. This is Socialism.

#### 4. *Essential Unity of Socialism—Seeming Differences Explained.*

All Socialists are One by virtue of universal agreement on this one essential proposition. The seeming discrepancies among Socialists, indicated by certain adjective designations, are purely circumstantial, and do not in the least affect the oneness of Socialism. They arise simply from the different lights in which the subject is viewed by Socialists of different habitudes and different planes of thought. Those who take a mere business or economic view of the matter are known as Economic Socialists. Others, who view the subject from the ethical or religious standpoint, may designate themselves Christian Socialists. Other distinctions between comrades might be pointed out, but all are equally Socialists, and no one should be so narrow and illiberal as to censure his comrades for these honest differences of view. The man who stands up with me for Socialism, though he may see nothing in the movement beyond economic justice, is my comrade and brother equally with him who is prompted by the higher and nobler

sentiments of ethical righteousness and human brotherhood. Indeed, who knows but he *does* feel that higher sentiment as really as does his Christian brother, but through some unjust—or possibly just—bias against church people, he conceals it even from himself? There is much reason to believe that the latter supposition is largely true. At all events, our lesson now is that Socialism is One, and that it will win only when Socialists recognize its Oneness and all stand together as One United Whole.

Socialism is not only one in principle; it is one in all its essential details of method. Its fundamental idea and aim is *Collectivism*—a system of industrial life under which all material resources and the machinery of industry shall belong to the collectivity, thus putting an end to all kinds of exploitation of one part of the people by another part. That such common ownership is the only possible remedy for the political corruption and industrial warfare of our present civilization is a proposition so manifestly true that it seems no sane and honest mind can fail to see it.

5. *Public Control of Private Corporations is a Fallacy and a Farce.*

Yet men continue to talk of “supervising” and “controlling” and “regulating” these monstrous accumulations of private and corporate wealth by means of legislation and the courts of justice. Take, as a sample, the confused utterances of President Roosevelt at Minneapolis, Minn., on Labor Day, in which he virtually (but unwittingly) declares the necessity of Socialism, though his sentences die unfinished on his lips. Having spoken of the need of legislation in the interest of labor, he adds:

“Nor can legislation stop with what are termed ‘labor

questions.' The vast individual and corporate wealth, the vast combinations of capital which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions, and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the state and nation towards property."

What is the attitude of the state and nation but that of legislative juggling with these corporate powers by anti-trust and inter-state commerce laws?—all of them but straws against the wind. What change of attitude would our president suggest? Continuing his speech, he said:

"Our interests are, at bottom, common. In the long run we go up or down together. Yet more and more it is evident that the state, and if necessary the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures, particularly as regards the business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency."

Whether the vagueness and confusion of these last words resulted from dimness of mental vision, or from want of courage to state the plain truth, they are discreditable to a clear-headed and brave-hearted statesman and soldier. To characterize a trust as "deriving a portion of its importance from the existence of *some monopolistic tendency*" is decidedly refreshing. It shows at least one remarkable virtue in our president—child-like innocence!

The truth is, this whole theory of control without ownership is illogical. It is absurd and impracticable on the face of it. The power to control any business or industry not only implies the ownership of that business or industry, but constitutes the very essence of its ownership. Let us see. The only kind of control which the state could exercise over an industry for the benefit of the people

would be in the regulation of prices and the cutting down of profits. But prices and profits, under our present economy, constitute the very essence of business and the sole motive for carrying it on. Is it not clear, then, that a transfer of the power to control prices and profits is, in reality, a transfer of proprietorship? And proprietorship and ownership being the same thing, the loss of one is essentially the loss of the other. Hence it inevitably follows that the only possible way for the state or nation to control our great industries in the interest of the people is for the state or nation to *own* them; therefore all attempts at public control without public ownership must continue in the future, as in the past, only a farce.

#### 6. *Socialism Not a New and Startling Cult.*

It is a little strange that so many people, seemingly otherwise intelligent, look upon Socialism as something quite new—a shocking innovation, till recently unheard of. These people will probably be surprised to learn that the underlying sentiment of Socialism has been more or less crudely presented to the world, and insisted upon by the most thoughtful, benevolent and humane people, from time immemorial.

This underlying sentiment found expression theoretically in Plato's *Ideal Republic*, Campanella's *Civitas Solis*, Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, and Bacon's *New Atlantis*; and practically among the ancient Essenes, the primitive Christians, the Moravians, the Shaker communities, and other successful communities and co-operative brotherhoods now in existence; and in the more extended schemes of Saint Simon, and Robert Owen, and Charles Fourier; and, lastly, in the present world-wide movement of political and scientific Socialism, national and international, with no less a

destiny than the transformation of existing governments, from their present individual and corporate basis of competitive strife and warring interests between monstrous wealth and monstrous poverty, into co-operative commonwealths of mutual and fraternal interests, with peace and universal prosperity at home, and the consequent ending of wars between all the nations of the earth. In all these aspects this deeper conception of human brotherhood has been steadily presenting itself to the world with increasing clearness of vision, until now it is not only permeating the world's best literature with its thought, but it forming the world's highest civilizations by its power.

The fundamental differences between Socialism and the various communistic experiments here alluded to are more fully pointed out in Chapter VII, "Objections to Socialism Explained and Answered."

As an illustration of the candor and fairness with which Socialism has come to be treated in our higher literature, take the following remarkably strong statement of the grounds underlying the Socialist movement, as presented in the American Encyclopedia :

"In all ages of the world, and in every civilized nation, there have been men who have attempted to devise or to put in practice new schemes of social life. They have seen the general poverty and distress to which the multitudes were subjected; the oppressions, the carnage, the squalor and the diseases which everywhere seem to be the inseparable accompaniment of society; and, repulsed by the odious combination, they have inquired, 'What is the cause, and what is the remedy?' 'It cannot be,' they have argued, 'that Nature intended the majority of men to continue always to exist in such a condition of ignorance and misery. It cannot be that the Divine Providence

purposely brings to the banquet of life more persons than there are means to subsist. Everywhere there is enough created for the supply of all—enough for food, enough for clothing, enough for shelter and warmth; and yet everywhere many are without food, or clothing, or shelter or warmth. Nature is without fault, Providence is beneficent; but the modes which society has adopted for the distribution of the copious bounties of heaven are deficient. The governments of the world, confining themselves to the organization of the merely political relations of men, leaving the social relations to shift for themselves while they aggravate these evils, are inadequate to provide a remedy. Nothing less than a new arrangement, a reconstruction of society,' they maintain, 'can remedy the mischiefs which have their origin in its ill construction. As man was made to live in society, and cannot live without it, the great end of science should be to discover such a form of the social relations as will give to each person the fullest satisfaction of his wants, the most complete guaranty of his rights, and the amplest scope for the exercise of all his faculties, physical, intellectual, moral and religious.' ”

Not only are the grounds and reasons of the Socialist movement set forth with candor and seeming approval in our most impartial and authoritative literature, but the wholesome and elevating effect of the Socialist propaganda is acknowledged with equal candor from the same impartial sources. The following paragraph, from Chambers' Encyclopedia, is remarkable for frankness :

“We must admit that the vigorous assertion of Socialistic principles has led men to a more liberal and generous view of humanity as a whole. Moreover, it has forcibly called public attention to numerous evils that have sprung

up along with the modern development of industry, for which no remedy has been provided; also to the vital interdependence of all classes, and to the inadequacy of the individual or selfish system to redress the wrongs or cure the evils that inevitably spring from its own unchecked operation."

Nor is it in the books of reference alone that Socialism is finding a place in the world of letters. The atmosphere of our current and most popular literature is beginning to be permeated with Socialistic thought and spirit, though it be left unnamed. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* roused the world to a vision of our economic wrongs and industrial iniquities. The clear-sighted poets and novelists—always the world's true prophets—have caught the spell and breathed it silently and namelessly into millions of minds. Heralded thus in song and in story, Socialism seems destined to march onward with increasing strength and speed till it has accomplished its magnificent work of harmonizing the conflicting interests of the people and pacifying the nations. And the best of it is, this new social order of economic righteousness is not a mere vision of Utopian dreamers, or only a beautiful sentiment of the philanthropist for the embellishment of poetry and fiction; for although Socialism proper and complete has not yet been inaugurated as the governmental policy of any country, its spirit and purpose are gradually permeating the industrial and economic systems of some of our best modern civilizations.

New Zealand is an excellent and most encouraging example of the wholesome working of the leaven of Socialism. Its entire economy is in a measure socialized. It taxes only land values and incomes. It leases lands to the people, and aids them in starting. It loans money to the

people at five percent per annum. It owns and operates its railroads, telegraphs and telephones. It not only provides free schools for its children, but carries them to and from school at the public expense. It does a banking business with its people through the postoffice to the amount of five hundred pounds (\$2500). It has given the elective franchise to women. It gives to the people the control of the liquor traffic by local option referendum. It does a life insurance business with its people. It has government farms for the employment of its unemployed. It does its public work by itself employing the workers, thus preventing exploitation by private contractors. No child under fifteen years of age can be employed in factory work.

Indeed, a government like New Zealand is only one step from Socialism. But that one step is vital and crucial. That is the step by which the government ceases to be a power over the people and a thing separate from them. Under Socialism the people are not wards, but wardens of the government, and one with it. Socialism is not paternalism—not a superior kindly caring for inferiors. It is *fraternalism*—a compact of equals and brothers mutually caring for each other. Prof. Walter Thomas Mills, contrasting public ownership and Socialism, says:

“Public ownership nowhere proposes to provide for the self-employment and self-direction of all the workers. It attempts to organize a business, to hire its labor in the market, to subject it to the discipline of a boss in the selection of whom the workers have no voice, and, by civil service examinations, to provide ‘jobs’ for those who are best able to survive without them.

Socialism, on the other hand, will not undertake to organize the workers for the sake of an *industry*, but to

organize and equip all the great industries for the sake of the *workers*. . . . This will be done, not with the view of employing only the picked and most efficient of the workers, but of giving equal opportunity to all men and women to become workers if they so choose."

#### 7. *Why Socialism Appeals to the Best and Highest in Men.*

If we ask ourselves why Socialism, when rightly understood, has appealed so effectually and so universally to the best and noblest sentiments in human nature, the answer comes quickly: Because the ideals and aims of Socialism are in plain accord with the highest conceptions of justice and right. It is difficult to see how any right-minded person could possibly read over the aims of Socialism without a sense of approval in mind and heart. Let the reader make the experiment. Briefly stated, the one great economic change proposed by Socialists is to substitute the co-operative for the competitive system of industry. This will involve the following details:

(a) The doing away with the tramp evil by giving assured employment to all. The able-bodied tramp would be glad to earn his living on a par with others. If not, he would soon learn.

(b) Assured Employment will result from the collective ownership and management of industry in the interest of the whole people, instead of having a few individuals and corporations own the means of life and reap the entire profits of industry, as now.

(c) Socialism will do away with pauperism and charities, (so-called) by making provision for the support of the infirm and helpless—not as "paupers," humiliated by being sent to the "poorhouse," or by street beggary and professional alms-giving, but as members of the civic family

respected and honored in common with all other members.

(d) Socialism will put an end to all commercial exploitation of one part of the people by another part, whether in the form of rent, interest or profit.

(e) It aims to restore to all the people direct access to the earth and the bountiful supplies which nature has provided within and upon its surface for the needs and comfort of all, instead of having these natural supplies monopolized and owned as private property by the few.

(f) It aims also to place within the reach of all the people the conveniences and refinement which are now denied to the great mass, being enjoyed only by the wealthy few.

In short, it is the aim of the Socialists to usher in, through the peaceful methods of education and the ballot, a new social and political economy, under which the question of material existence shall cease to be a problem and a struggle—when the people, instead of exploiting each other for a livelihood, will all live for the common weal.

Here let the reader again ask himself whether these principles and purposes are not such as to commend them to every just and generous mind.

As a matter of fact, the opponents of Socialism do not deny the justness and excellence of its principles. On the contrary, it is its excellence of principle that is urged as the main objection to Socialism. It is not claimed that Socialism is bad, but that it is too good—too good to be true; too good for human nature; and hence, that it is only a beautiful ideal which can never be realized in practical life.

#### 8. *Socialism Not in Conflict with Human Nature.*

It is conceded that the change from the present order

of life to that proposed by Socialism is profoundly radical; so much so that it amounts to a subversion of the foundation principles of life as it is, both economic and ethical. It is also conceded that if this proposed change involves any conflict with the laws of nature, it is unscientific, and should be abandoned. But no such conflict exists. The common remark of non-socialists that "human nature will have to be changed before Socialism comes," is certainly not based on any proper analysis of human nature. It is the result of crude and superficial reasoning from insufficient premises. "Human nature is a very large subject. It presents too many phases, and includes too wide a range of modes and possibilities, to be correctly judged as a whole from an empiric knowledge of its manifestations under particular conditions. Human nature is not of a fixed quality, but is variable, and in its development from savagery to enlightenment (and to attainments as yet unknown), it is capable of a limitless variety of modifications through environment. It is the most adaptable, the most educable thing in the world. Under savagery it is savage, and under civilization, civilized—changing with changing conditions. Under Paganism it is Pagan, and under Christianity Christian. With a Catholic education it is Catholic; with a Protestant education it is Protestant; and (coming directly to the point) human nature under competition and war is warlike; under co-operation and peace it will be unselfish and peaceful."

No! Socialism requires no change in the laws of human nature; but it will, by virtue of these laws, work a very great change in the principles of human conduct and the consequent character of human life. The new environment brought by the Socialist state would so revolutionize the method of thought and action in the general economy of

life that a new set of ideals, principles and motives, conforming to the new conditions, would rapidly take the place of the old ones by the force of assimilative education. Indeed, this principle of assimilative education, if properly understood, could be utilized to great advantage as a reformatory agency in the matter of legislation. It is a mistake to say that people cannot be made better by legislation. While it is true that the mere enactment of a law against evil will not directly impart good tendencies to those inclined to evil, it is also true that law is an educator. The simple fact that a thing is declared by law to be wrong or criminal soon creates a public sentiment against such wrong. It is on this principle that Socialists claim that the establishment of the new social order by authoritative law, while it will not immediately lift the people out of old habits of thought and feeling engendered by ages of struggle on the selfish plane, will, by the law of assimilation, gradually transform the old nature into the new, so that, by the silent but sure workings of this alterative process, a new humanity will evolve out of the old. Less than one generation after the abolition of slavery in this country there was a New South, and no one desired to return to the old way of living.

#### 9. *The Mighty Change to be Wrought by Socialism.*

To form an adequate conception of the educational influence of the new conditions under Socialism it is necessary to consider the nature and extent of the changes involved in a transition from the selfish to the social basis of life.

First—*Wars will cease.* Socialism will not only put an end to *civil* wars, but, being international (in principle), wars between *nations* will cease with its inauguration, and

the reign of universal peace will become the habitual thought and feeling of the world. What a change in the thought-atmosphere of the world! And what a transformation of character will be wrought in the generations nurtured in the new atmosphere!

Is it not certain that as long as the war-sentiment is encouraged in children and youth, men will be on the animal plane of battle and blood? We now give our children implements of war for toys—guns, swords, forts and soldiers in uniform, besides fifes and drums. We glorify our military heroes, and by the “splendid” pageantry of military display we teach our children war—and then tell them to “be good!” “be Christian!” And, by a monstrous perversion of the fundamental principles of Christianity, our bishops, allying themselves with princes and rulers of *this* world (though representatives of the Prince of Peace), urge on the dogs of war with the battle-cry, “Conquering the world for Christ!” Where is the world’s hope of peace and love and brotherhood under an educational regime of war and hate and bloody conquest, supported by church, and state, and standing army—obedient all to commercial interests? This hope is to be found only in the radical “change of environment” inevitable under Socialism—a change from the selfish, competitive system of war to the social co-operative system of peace.

Second—*Life will be a joy—not a struggle.* Socialism will put an end to the individual struggle for existence—and with that struggle will go the whole brood of vipers engendered by it. It is no wonder that selfishness continues to be the cardinal sin. How can it be otherwise while the material well-being of each individual is—as for ages it has been—based on the theory that the first duty of each is to “look out for number one?” Of course, it is not

here meant that this theory has been actually taught in our books and schools of ethics. Far from it. Our ethical *theories* are all right. In fact, it is only by virtue of a rational system of theoretic ethics that the world has managed to keep itself in countenance so long in the face of an irrational and iniquitous system of practical economics. We *preach* like saints—but that is only on Sunday. Our real work-day life does not—cannot—fit into it. We contemplate the Golden Rule as something beautiful, and endorse it “deep down in our hearts,” yet the conditions of our actual life are not subject to the Golden Rule, but to the Rule of Gold; and under *that* rule “business is business.” What good does it do for the minister to exhort his people on Sunday to love their neighbors as themselves, when he knows that their laws of life *compel* them to fight with one another all the week for the best end of the *bargain*? There it is! That is the whole story of our trouble. The people are *compelled* to make their living out of one another by a system of bargaining—buying, selling and speculating among themselves—exploiting one another for profit—the interest of each individual depending on how much he can get out of his neighbor for how little. No wonder the world is filled with commercial lying, misrepresentation, humbug advertising and “tricks of the trade.” No wonder our food is adulterated—our milk diluted with water and doctored with antiseptics, while the big apples are put on top of the box. Why not? If the predatory habits of beasts and birds of prey train them in the practice of cunning and treachery in making their living out of their fellow creatures, why should not a similar life among men have a similar effect upon them? Human beings are certainly no less subject to the laws of environment than are the lower orders of creation.

Think of it! The people living from age to age, from generation to generation, under a system of industrial economy which absolutely compels them to be selfish, and in this way constantly tempts them to dishonesty in their dealings with one another. The real wonder is, not that there is so much selfishness, discord, crime and misery in human life, but that there is not more of it. That society, under such conditions, has left in it any truth, any goodness, any virtue whatever, is a most encouraging demonstration of man's inborn tendency to goodness. And if the people still have some goodness left, in spite of an economic system which constantly tempts them to evil, what may we not expect of virtue and happiness in human society when the entire system is reversed and the whole economy of life is based on the mutual interest of all instead of the selfish interest of each.

Third—*Church and State will be converted.* When the great change comes, both church and state will be saved by the new education and the new ideals. They are the two great conservative powers which give perpetuity to existing institutions—the state through the laws, customs and courts; the church by religious sanction and moral support. These two great forces, as the right and left hand supporters of our present false system, will be found sitting at the feet of the new social order “clothed and in their right mind.” The church will preach less theology and more Christianity. The state will practice more justice and less poorhouse charity. The church will cease to encourage atheism and irreligion, because it will no longer insist upon the crude and irrational teachings of barbarous ages, but will inculcate a reasonable and civilized religion in keeping with other branches of civilization. Religionists will then concern themselves, not merely with mystical

theories and dogmas about *another* world and *another* life, but mainly with those great ethical and spiritual principles by virtue of which human beings can, in *this* life and in *this* world, be placed in conditions of right and justice.

The church, through fear of trespassing on the domain of politics, has divorced religion from civic righteousness. The state, similarly cautious about meddling with religion, has divorced politics from morals. The result is that the people, both in the church and out of it, are left under a political and economic system with the ethical element eliminated. Under the new social order, the church and the state—each in its appropriate sphere organically distinct from the other—will both recognize the fact that neither can the church ignore its civic nor the state its moral responsibility to society. In our republic there is neither organic union nor moral conflict between church and state. The churches are purely voluntary religious organizations, standing for the higher ethical and spiritual interests of the people, and doing their work by moral suasion. The state is a purely civic organization, standing for the material, social and moral well-being of society, doing its work, not by moral suasion, but by constitutional restriction and mandatory authority. So it is easy to see that when both our civil and religious institutions are wielded in the interest of a just and righteous social system, instead of an unjust and unrighteous one as now, the world will see the transformation and feel the mighty impulse of the new life.

#### 10. *Socialism and Ethics.*

It seems almost incredible that anyone should fail to see the profound ethical significance of Socialism. Yet there are Socialists who insist that it is exclusively a “business”

proposition, barring all "sentiment," ethical or otherwise, and ignoring the fact that neither business nor any other human relation is exempt from ethical law, which is only another name for moral law.

Let us reason a little. What is ethics? It is the science of morals. The ethical standard varies as man advances in civilization, but whatever, in any age, is held to be just is, for that age, ethical, and the moral (ethical) law applies to *all* the customs, acts, and institutions of man. And what is Socialism? It is a growth out of lower into higher conditions, and Socialists are endeavoring to expedite the change, in hopes that in *our* time we may do away with a mode of life which is morally wrong and unjust, and establish in its place a system which will be right and just. Whenever and wherever questions of right and wrong are considered, then and there we are dealing with the very soul of ethics. If Socialism has any reason for its existence, aside from evolution, it is that it contends for the right against the wrong. Therefore, instead of Socialism having nothing to do with ethics, its foundations are laid in ethics, and the superstructure must stand or fall according as these foundations are right or wrong.

Henceforward let no Socialist attempt to exclude ethics from Socialism unless he is prepared to affirm that Socialism has nothing to do with right or wrong.

This gross blunder has probably been caused in part by confounding ethics and religion—things unfortunately now quite distinct from each other. Religion, as prevailing at present, has reference mainly to theological creeds and doctrines concerning God and his worship, and relating to the destiny of man in a future state of existence—matters which concern the church only. Ethics, on the contrary, pertains wholly to the laws and principles of right

and wrong in the relations and duties of men towards one another in society—a matter primarily concerning the state. Let there be no confounding of ethics with religion.

Again, this blunder (exclusion of ethics from Socialism) may be partly due to the prominence unavoidably given to the economic feature of Socialism as embodied in its political platform. For obvious reasons, Socialism, as a mere political issue of a political party, is purely a question of political economy; and to those who are accustomed to see in human life only the question of industrial regulation and material well-being, it is but natural that the merely political and economic aspect of the Socialist movement should seem to be all there is to it; but intelligent reflection upon the law of environment and its inevitable influence on the life and character of man makes it plain that Socialism is a question, not merely for the political economist, but also for the sociologist, the philanthropist and the moralist.

The new economic and industrial order involved in the Socialist program, so far from excluding the ethical element, contains within itself the very soul and essence of the most exalted ethical ideal conceivable by the human mind. No higher ethical standard has ever been raised than the brief formula proclaimed in common by the world's deepest seers and grandest moral teachers, requiring men to *love their neighbors as themselves*; and yet it is freely admitted, by all thoughtful and candid minds, that, under the world's present and past forms of economic civilization, this lofty code has ever been a rule that could only be preached—not practiced. In fact, the practical application of such a code under a competitive mode of life is not only a moral impossibility, but a manifest absurdity. How can a man love his neighbor as himself

when his own self-interest constantly compels him to exploit his neighbor by getting the most out of him for the least? It is therefore simply a common sense proposition that the Socialist plan of life, which completely changes human relations from a state of competitive strife into a brotherhood of common interests, is the only conceivable way in which the ethics of the Golden Rule can be made practicable or possible. Thus it clearly appears, not merely that there is an ethical element in Socialism, but that Socialism is itself the essential condition and supreme formula of the highest ethical requirements.

As a final emphasis of the essentially ethical character of Socialism, consider for a moment that the consequences flowing from co-operation (in place of competition), will be almost wholly moral in their nature, though the change itself is a merely economic one. The co-operative method under Socialism not only insures an abundant and certain economic provision for every human life in a material sense, but, at the same time, the new environment lifts the entire life to a loftier and nobler moral plane of thought, feeling and incentive.

To say that the competitive life breeds selfishness is only to state the law of cause and effect by an apt illustration. That a slaughter-pen breeds flies and maggots is no more a matter of course than that a life based on the selfish theory breeds falsehood, deceit, dishonesty, rascality, theft, robbery, murder and all the rest of the brood.

The antithesis of this is no less evident. A life based on the theory of unselfishness and the common good of all, instead of breeding the vices and crimes mentioned in the preceding paragraph, would tend to foster in the individual and in society all the ethical virtues which stand in contrast therewith—virtues without which human society is a

mockery and human life a failure. Let it therefore be affirmed, over and over again, that Socialism is not only ethical, but that it is ethics itself in practical operation.

### 11. *Socialism and the Laws of Nature.*

The competitive system is sometimes defended on the ground that it is in harmony with the general plan of nature as manifested in the lower orders of life. In both the animal and vegetable kingdoms there is a competitive struggle for existence and for mastery in which the strong and vigorous crush out and destroy the weak and helpless, and it is argued that human life is subject to the same law. That such an inference is inconsiderate and rash will appear on reflection. It grossly violates the fundamental principles of correct reasoning by assuming an analogy between two things without considering the nature of either of them or the essential differences between them. An appeal to the conditions and habits of the insensate and the brute creations as a criterion for the conduct of human beings is an unwarranted reflection on human nature.

Surely the vast difference in nature and endowments between man and the lower orders of life ought to place the human species on a higher plane than that of the plant or the brute. If not, it may well be asked, to what purpose was man endowed with an intellectual and moral nature? It may be readily conceded that in the savage and barbarous stages of evolution the life of man would naturally be on a plane not greatly elevated above that of brute life, but certainly no civilized man of the present age would think of appealing to barbarous tribes, either of the past or the present, in illustration of what civilized

life ought to be. With still less reason, then, can such appeal be made to wild beasts.

Again, it must be remembered that Nature, in her entire realm below man, notwithstanding her wonderful wealth and variety of laws and resources, has neither rational economy in her methods nor any sign of morality in her dealings. She sows her seeds haphazard, by the winds, without regard to place or quantity, to grow or to rot, as it may happen. Nine tenths of her blossoms bloom only to die without fruitage. Her rains fall here and there in spots, deluging portions of the earth with floods and abandoning other portions to the desolation of desert sands. Her living creatures are at war with one another, preying upon and devouring one another, the strong and voracious keeping the weak and defenceless in perpetual fear and flight—all without the least regard for either the rights of life or the pangs of death. And still we are cited to this realm as proof from nature that man was intended to live permanently in a state of competition and warfare!

The truth is, all this absurd reasoning about Nature comes from a want of understanding of that term in its fulness of comprehension. Men will never reason correctly about Nature until they recognize her different realms and her successive planes of being and activity. The human kingdom is as much a part of Nature as are the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms; and its laws of life and destiny are as distinct from and superior to those of the lower orders as the nature and endowments of man himself are superior. Hence the absurdity—in fact, the degradation—involved in the very thought of going to the brute plane of nature for guidance in human affairs.

Science, as well as common sense, clearly demands that each distinct realm and type of Nature be studied in the

light of its own nature, and kept within the sphere of its own autonomy. As we do not go to the mineral kingdom to study botany, nor to the vegetable kingdom to study zoology, neither can we with any less absurdity go to the animal kingdom for the study of humanity; although there are in Nature's grand totality of plan many resemblances and analogies of a merely incidental or physical nature between departments and types of being, even those most remote from one another in character.

In short, the proposition aimed at by this reasoning is, that it is only when Nature, in her ascending scale, reaches the *human* plane that she enters the rational and moral realm of expression. Man alone is endowed with a self-determining intelligence and power of choice and destiny, and with an ethical sense of right and wrong in action and conduct. And here we at once behold a differentiation so vast and so mighty that Nature herself seems to have turned over to man the very scepter of the world, investing him with full authority and power, not only to make his own race as great and good as he may choose, but to supplement, develop and complete her own unfinished works. She has only furnished materials, forces and possibilities, leaving man to take up the work where she leaves off. She has given us a world of deep-tangled wildwoods, wildernesses, and solitary places, and bids us go forth and make them blossom as the rose. She has provided in earth and air abundant resources of substance, and power, and wealth, and beauty—all in the rough—and says to man: "I have endowed you alone with intelligence, reason, liberty. Go forth and delve, discover invent, cultivate. I turn the earth over to you in this crude condition, not for evil, but for good; because there is no glory or perfection for your race without toil, effort, achieve-

ment. For this reason I have given you deserts, forests, and caves, instead of gardens, fields and houses. For this my precious metals are mixed with rock; my precious stones are in the rough; my oil and coal are crude in form and deep under the ground; my water supplies are distant in the mountains or far beneath the surface; my plants and trees in their natural state choke and crowd and dwarf one another until the wisdom and industry of man take them out of this competitive struggle and give them room and sunshine and soil. My fruits of the tree and the vine are, for the same reason, stunted, undeveloped and bitter, or sour, till your intelligence and industry rescue them from their wild tangle, and bring them to perfection by the hand of culture. My sentient living creatures, while in their natural state, prey upon one another, or haply browse, or graze, or search for chance supplies of food, till your higher intelligence and needs take them out of this precarious life and provide them with abundant food, shelter and care, thereby not only adding to your own comfort and convenience, but also bringing these creatures to their highest perfection."

So it turns out that the argument is reversed. Instead of learning from the lower order the propriety of competition in the higher life, man has found that the competitive state is bad, even for the lower orders, and that they must be taken out of that condition before they can be brought to any degree of perfection. The real lesson therefore is that the competitive condition is only a crude and transitional state, and is wholly incompatible with a high degree of perfection in any realm of being. Human society is still on this lower plane of competitive strife, and Socialism, in its endeavor to lift man to the higher and more human plane of co-operation and brotherhood,

claims not only to be in harmony with the highest reason, but to be following the teachings of nature.

## 12. *Socialism Scientific.*

We have now arrived at the point in our investigations where Socialism may justly urge its ultimate and highest claim, to wit, that it rests on a strictly scientific foundation. If its fundamental design—the abolishment of competition—is in harmony with the general plan of Nature, as has been shown, this, of itself, affords a strong presumption of scientific soundness throughout. Accordingly, it is one of the distinctive features of the present Socialist movement that its advocates constantly insist on a Scientific Socialism. This has arisen from the fact that in the earlier stages of Socialist talk and effort the word *Socialism* was used loosely and indiscriminately for all kinds of theories and experiments in collectivism looking to a more equal, just and fraternal life than was seen to be possible under the selfish system of Individualism. In this loose sense Saint Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen were Socialists. The French Commune, the Shaker and other communities, with all kinds of co-operative experiments, whether religious or secular, regardless of their various forms and varieties, are all equally designated as “socialistic.” Then there was the “State Socialism” of Germany, originated by Bismarck; Christian Socialism, as advocated by Maurice, Kingsley and Ludlow, in England; and finally, Edward Bellamy’s Nationalism, portrayed with such matchless skill in that greatest of all political fictions, “Looking Backward.”

In contradistinction to all this vague and unscientific jumble of diverse sorts of things under the name of

Socialism, the world-wide and well-defined Socialist movement of to-day is a movement wholly apart from all these, neither co-ordinate with nor similar to any of them. It is not based on a mere sentiment, an ideal theory, either of religion or philanthropy, as all former theories and experiments have mainly been, but on a broad and thorough philosophic study of human history and human government in their relations to the nature, needs, and rights of civilized man. Socialists feel fully justified in claiming that Socialism is, at last, on a scientific basis—the only basis that will stand the pressure of the Twentieth Century.

The transition from sentimental to scientific Socialism is clearly explained in the writings of recent Socialist authors from Karl Marx down. One of the most instructive books on this subject is that of the late Frederick Engels, who traces the transition with clearness and strength in his compendious work entitled, "Socialism from Utopia to Science." All who are familiar with Socialist literature are now aware that the scientific character of Socialism rests on a thorough study not only of political and economic science, but of all other sciences in any manner involved in or connected with the principles of Socialism. The Socialist reasoner shrinks from no inquiry either as to the soundness of his premises or the correctness of his conclusions, for he knows that the foundations of his philosophy are deep down in the primordial principles and purposes of creation itself; therefore he asks and by logical demonstration answers the question : *For whose use and benefit was this earth intended?*

On this solid foundation the Socialist reasoner lays one stone upon another until the magnificent superstructure stands complete, the admiration of the best thinkers of the world. At every step the Socialist proceeds scientific-

ally, first observing *facts*, then tracing *causes*—the reasons for such facts—and finally, having determined the disease, declares the remedy, confident that others will come to the same conclusion when they recognize the necessity of understanding the genesis and the exodus—the way in and the way out—in order to deal wisely with this great problem. When the question turns on the destiny of any human institution, the Socialist—recognizing the march of science and universal progress, and the fact that antiquity is no longer a valid reason for perpetuity—declares that, under the searchlight of modern thought and mental liberty, the customs and institutions of the world must either justify their continuance or cease to exist.

If asked for a scientific reason for discontent with the existing social order of things, and agitation for betterment, the Socialists explain that in the social and economic realm, just as in the physical, the forces and tendencies of life act blindly and destructively till they are understood and directed by intelligent control. These forces, under the capitalistic competitive system, have already gone seriously wrong, to the great detriment of just economic and social conditions, and Socialism is the only true and scientific remedy for the wrongs thus resulting.

If asked to explain scientifically the definite process by which this unjust system of economy is doing its evil work, the Socialist answers that the production and distribution of material wealth is the groundwork of the social state; that *economic* conditions control all *other* conditions, and that the private ownership of the essential means of life has naturally resulted in the slavish dependence of the non-owning class upon the owning class of society; that this enslavement under capitalistic exploitation of industry is so complete and absolute that even the tools

of labor have become weapons against the laborer, being used to deprive him of the means of life, it being evident that the greater the saving of manual labor by privately-owned machinery, the greater the waste of human labor power by enforced idleness; that under this system of private monopoly, improved machinery (which ought to save for the benefit of *all*) actually deprives the majority of human workers of the opportunity to labor, and forces the minority to toil more slavishly than ever. The means of cheap and abundant production have greatly increased, but the ability of the average worker to purchase a small portion for his own use has been lessened until now the poverty of the laboring class of America is such that markets for the surplus products of the country have to be sought abroad through the un-American policy of military and commercial conquest. In short, all past and present experience undeniably proves that the owner of the *means* of production always appropriates the *product*—no matter who does the work, or where it is done—in field, factory or shop; therefore, it is simply a common-sense conclusion that the collective (Socialist) ownership of the means of production is the only possible way in which the producers of wealth can become the owners of the wealth they produce. If this reasoning is not scientific and just, Socialists would like to know why it is not.

But Socialism is not merely scientific—it is philosophical. It does not stop with the investigation and analysis of the facts and the conditions of society on which the movement is based, but it goes back of all these, and recognizes the antecedent laws and principles of evolutionary progress in accordance with which these conditions have naturally evolved, and are, in their turn, destined to be displaced, and superseded by the higher and juster civili-

zation towards which, through the law of evolution, they are inevitably tending.

Socialism is, therefore, not the result of an unreasoning and unintelligent revolt against conditions which it condemns as purposely wrong and is seeking to overthrow, but is the result of a logical study and understanding of a condition of things not purposely wrong or essentially evil, but one of those sociological crises which necessarily arise from time to time in the progress of civilization, when, by the slow process of evolution, certain crucial points of friction are reached which require a transition so rapid and a forward leap so great that evolution for the time gives place to revolution—not necessarily a revolution of violence and war, but usually a peaceful revolution by rapid and radical changes of public opinion. In truth, all revolutions, both violent and peaceful, are but the result of obstructed or imperfect evolution. Socialism is seeking to make the transition from the old to the new order by the peaceful method, but the transformation to be accomplished is so radical that Socialists, as a rule, claim their movement to be revolutionary rather than reformatory. But the main point here insisted upon is that Socialists view the whole matter in a philosophic light, regarding the wrongs of our present economic system as the natural result of the system itself, and, at the same time, the most urgent reason for hastening the coming revolution which such wrongs make inevitable. Thus the evil cures itself. "Like cures like." In illustration of this optimistic view of the subject, take the following recent utterance of Rev. Heber Newton, one of the many courageous clergymen of today whose divinity has not destroyed their humanity :

"The era of competition is ended. All business is con-

centrating. In this massing of capital there is coming to be an absolute domination over the wage-worker, over the interests of the people at large, over the life of the state itself. Yet this movement is natural and necessary. It is in the line of economic progress. The real question concerning it is : *Can this new order grow a soul within it—a spirit capable of mastering these monster powers, and using them—not for self-aggrandizement, but—for human service?* If it cannot, there is a revolution ahead worse than any the world has hitherto known. If it *can*, there opens an era of boundless beneficent progress. This is a question of religion. It is the old need of an ever fresh faith, and hope, and love.”

Note how these thinkers recognize in this crisis, not the work of chance, or any essentially evil design on the part of those whose exploitations have brought the crisis; but they may see in it only the logical and inevitable outworking of competitive life which has reached that stage in its normal evolution where it is compelled to make the transition from the selfish to the social method of industry just as naturally as in the evolution of a human life the process of gestation reaches a point where a quick transition has to be made from the foetal to the free condition, although, in each case, it may be at the cost of some birth-pains. Listen to the words of this thinker : “Yet this movement is natural and necessary. It is in the line of economic progress.”

Without knowing it, the “great captains of industry,”—great exploiters of the people—while aiming only at the establishment of great private monopolies, are in reality moving steadily and unerringly toward the co-operative commonwealth of Socialism. Every time a new trust is formed, or an old one enlarged, another sure advance is

made towards the practical realization of the grand ultimate, when every distinct branch of industry shall be consolidated into a trust, and all the trusts merged into one great combine owned and operated by and in the interest of all the people collectively.

Thus it is seen that Socialism, in its reckonings, keeps well in touch with both science and philosophy.

### 13. *Socialism and Religion.*

The author's first design, when formulating the plan of this book, was (for reasons already hinted at) not to touch upon the subject of religion beyond the merely incidental allusions to it which have unavoidably dropped into place here and there in the course of the argument. But later on, after the manuscript was thought to be finished, there came a heartfelt appeal from an earnest and thoughtful friend, which—strengthening a conviction already in the mind of the author—made it clear that the book would be incomplete without this additional section. For this conclusion there are two strong reasons: First, Socialists need to set themselves right in the eyes of the world respecting their attitude towards religion; and, second, Socialism is an ideal which can never be realized in its completeness without a supreme spirit of altruism, and an exalted faith in something greater than human governments and more enduring than the transitory baubles of this material existence—*something which the religious phase of human life alone supplies.*

First, then, the Socialists owe it to themselves to vindicate Socialism against the prevailing impression among church people that Socialists are, as a rule, skeptics and materialists, and hence opposed to the church and Christianity, and even to religion—an impression which nat-

urally prejudices the minds of professing Christians, both ministers and people, and thus places a serious obstacle in the way of Socialist progress. This charge of skepticism and irreligion among Socialists is not entirely without grounds. That the taint actually exists in a manifest degree, is a fact which Socialists do not attempt to conceal, however much the more thoughtful among them may regret the fact. The important point to be insisted upon here, as a vindication of Socialism itself against the justness of this complaint, is that this unfortunate anti-religious tendency among the Socialists has not resulted from any of the principles or teachings of Socialism, none of which involve the least antagonism to religion. On the contrary, the whole Socialist program is in strict accord with the ethical and practical teachings, not only of Christianity, but of all the great religions of the world. But as to religious theories, doctrines, or creeds of any kind, Socialism utters not a word.

How, then, is this anti-religious development among Socialists to be explained? Its origin is clearly traceable to three distinct sources. One of these is the *general* tendency to skepticism and irreligion characteristic of the present age—affecting not only Socialists, but all classes of society, and especially reform movements of a liberal and progressive character. It would be strange indeed if the Socialists alone should escape the general epidemic.

The second of the three causes of skeptical tendency among Socialists is the injudicious translation and misapplication of certain foreign terms of some of the earlier standard writers on Socialism, notably German and other European authors. These writers maintained that the material interests—the economic conditions of society—are the primary and determining motive forces of civiliza-

tion and progress. This fundamental principle was formulated into what is known as *economic determinism*, and affirmed in the strong postulate of Karl Marx: "*Economic conditions control all other conditions.*" Now, injudiciously and unfortunately, this economic postulate has been designated in later Socialist propaganda as "the *materialist* conception of history." (Or, as some call it, "the *materialistic* conception of history.") The word "*materialist*," while it expresses the meaning intended, should not have been used in this connection, belonging, as it now does, exclusively to the realm of metaphysics and theology—matters entirely foreign to the subject treated by Marx. A large number of Socialists, who have not taken the pains to discriminate between the different uses and applications of words, have been misled by it into false notions which are hurtful both to themselves and their cause.

The author can here add only his earnest hope that—to whatever extent the cause of Socialism may have suffered through this misuse and misunderstanding of a word—the wrong may soon be righted by a proper understanding among Socialists and all others who have been misled by it.

The third and principal reason why there is among the Socialists a special and manifest attitude of estrangement from and distrust of the churches is, not antagonism to religion, but a conviction that the churches are untrue to the religion they teach. Socialists do not complain of the churches for preaching Christianity, but for not practicing it. All intelligent and broad-minded Socialists are aware that Socialism, instead of being opposed to Christianity, is really one with it so far as Christianity pertains to the practical needs and ethical principles of human life and duty. Not only Socialists recognize the essentially Christian character of Socialist principles, but the consensus of the world's best thought testifies to the same thing. Even

so high a source of authority as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* uses these exact words: "*The ethics of Socialism are identical with the ethics of Christianity.*" And yet the Christian ministry—the exponents of this same Christianity—not only stand aloof from the Socialist movement, but often denounce it as an evil in society and "a sin against God!" thus wielding the moral and religious influence of Christianity against a movement acknowledged to be ethically identical with Christianity, and in favor of the present order of society which is a travesty upon "Christian civilization."

In view of a situation like this, is it any wonder that the Socialists are not on intimate terms with the churches? If Christian ministers and church people will thoughtfully consider the foregoing explanation of the Socialist attitude toward the churches, they will see things in a new light. They will find that the gist of the whole matter is, not that the Socialists are finding fault with religion, but only with a one-sided religion. They hold that a mere system of doctrinal theology and a formulary of religious observances, however sincerely maintained and practiced, constitute only half of Christianity, if even that. There are two sides to religion—the side towards the heavens, and the side towards the earth. One side worships Divinity, the other serves humanity. A genuine Christianity is as much concerned about God's will being done "on earth" as "in heaven." It holds itself responsible for "the life that now is," as well as for "that which is to come." But the Socialists see—or think they see—that these two sides of religion are out of balance in the churches—that Christian people are interested almost exclusively in the "mint, anise and cumin" of church duties and ceremonial observances, seemingly with exclusive reference to the interests

of *another* world, while wholly indifferent—if not hostile—to the only great movement for the practical redemption of human life in *this* world from a social, moral, and material environment which renders the *practice* of the earthly side of the Christian religion utterly impossible. How, then, can Socialists be expected to feel any serious interest in the churches? If Christian ministers and Christian people would earnestly espouse the cause of this earthly, human side of religion, and thus become the representatives of a complete Christianity, it would not be long before the great mass of Socialists—and all other thinking men—would, in their turn, espouse the heavenly and divine side of religion, and a nation of united and genuine Christians might be born in a day!

A word now to Socialists themselves, especially to those who may be prejudiced against religion as such, and who think Socialism has no need of the religious sentiment in its work. However sincerely this view may be held, and from whatever cause it may have originated, it appears to the author to be a serious mistake—nay, a *fatal* mistake if it should ever become a dominant idea in the Socialist movement. If facts count for anything, either in human nature or in human history, religion is not only a constitutional necessity of man's nature and environment, but an indispensable factor in the accomplishment of his destiny.

That man is endowed by nature with a religious or spiritual faculty, and that this faculty has always expressed itself in its own appropriate and distinctive manner, is not a theory, but a simple matter of fact. Hence, any attempt to ignore or discredit the religious phase of life is manifestly absurd and irrational as well as disloyal to the universal law of nature.

The religious faculty is not simply one among the other

faculties of man's nature, but it is the highest of all, conferring upon man his supreme dignity, and foreshowing his most exalted destiny. This view is not only in harmony with common sense, but is clearly indicated in the scientific arrangement and subordination of the faculties and activities of the human mind, as demonstrated by a simple analysis of these faculties.

In that department of our nature known as "the sensibilities" we see a regular scale of activities rising one above another in moral dignity, subdivided into three distinct classes—the appetites, the desires, and the affections. And now see the admirable order and harmony of Nature: the appetites at the bottom of the scale, belonging to the physical nature, and organically seated in the lowest portion of the brain; the desires next above, belonging to the next higher realm—the distinctly mental realm—and located in the next higher or middle portion of the brain; while the affections—endowing human nature with its highest and noblest attributes, and lifting it into the moral and spiritual realm—are seated in the highest portion of the brain, with spirituality at the very summit.

Seeing now that the Author of man's being has not only endowed him with a religious nature, but has clearly indicated the supreme dignity of the religious faculty by placing it above all the rest, does it not seem almost incredible that any one should think it possible to either ignore or neglect the religious phase of human life without evil consequences both to the individual and to society? How is it possible for the human race, either collectively or individually, to reach its highest attainments without exercising its highest attributes? One might as well think of developing a perfect physical body without physical exercise, or attaining to a high state of mental culture with-

out exercising the intellectual faculties, as to expect the higher and nobler nature to be brought to its best in the moral and spiritual realm without the necessary exercise and culture of the higher faculties.

Now, if it be asked what all this has to do with Socialism, the reply is that society under Socialism will be composed of individuals no less than it is now, and that society is a structure, and, like any other structure, it is no better—no more trustworthy—than the materials of which it is composed. The Socialist program may be ideally perfect, and the architectural plan of the building faultless, but the fate of both will be determined by the kind of stuff they are made of. The vital point to be urged here is that the new order of society aimed at in Socialism is an ideal of such transcendent moral excellence that it can never be successfully inaugurated—much less securely maintained—unless the highest and best attributes of human nature are enlisted in its support; and, since this highest and best belongs to the moral and spiritual realms of man's nature, the conclusion is inevitable that if Socialism is ever to be actualized in the loftiness of its ideal and the grandeur of its purpose—if it is ever to accomplish the permanent and genuine transformation of human society which it has mapped out for itself—if it is ever to succeed in changing this discordant old world of selfishness, strife, war, crime and misery into the new world of harmony, peace, fraternity and righteousness contemplated by the Socialist program—then it will be found that Socialism will have something more to do with religion than merely to vindicate itself, in a negative way, against the charge of unfriendliness.

It is to be understood that the word *religion* is used here in its broadest and most general sense as a universal

principle in human life, and not with reference to any of its diversified forms, names, sects, creeds or institutions—all these being only incidental manifestations of the one permanent, underlying principle, which, like other phases of civilization, is subject to the constantly varying influences of environment and progressive evolution. It has accordingly happened with religion, as with all other departments, both of civilization and of nature, that, while the principle itself is subjectively one, and constant, its objective forms of interpretation and expression are many and variable.

As a closing word on this part of the subject, let the Churchmen and the Socialists both remember that neither of them will ever succeed in accomplishing their high aims until they combine the earthly and the heavenly sides of the work into one complete “plan of salvation.”

## CHAPTER VII.

### OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM EXAMINED AND ANSWERED.

#### 1. *That Socialism is Paternalism.*

The first stages of all reformatory movements are, in the very nature of things, essentially educational. And a great part of this educational work is to answer objections urged against the proposed new order of things. Accordingly, since Socialism is aiming at a decidedly new order of things, it is but natural that the various objections have to be answered by the Socialist propagandist.

If the principles of Socialism are correct, as we have previously shown them to be, both in economics and in ethics, all objections which may be urged against it are without foundation, and are the result of either some misunderstanding of the subject or intentional misrepresentation by those who are selfishly interested in the continuance of the present system. As is natural, these objections are of various kinds, according to the dominant prejudice or the particular standpoint of the objector.

Two contradictory political objections have been urged by the opponents of Socialism, not by way of serious argument (the enemies of Socialism studiously avoid that kind of exercise), but in the form of a slur—to arouse prejudice, the main reliance of ancient wrong. On one side, the people are gravely warned against Socialism as an at-

tempt to turn everything over to the government, making it a great centralized power, thus depriving the people of their individuality and liberty. On the other side, alarm is given of an exactly opposite danger, namely, that Socialism is the same as Anarchy; that it aims at the destruction and overthrow of all government, law and order! It would seem that such absurdities might be dismissed without further notice. But, knowing that a large percentage of the people are uninformed on the subject, and how liable men are to mistake prejudice for intelligence, it may be well to patiently point out the error and inconsistency of such objections.

The first of these opposite objections, that Socialism aims at the centralization of all power and property in the state, changing our form of government to a system of paternalism, is based on a total misconception of Sociology as understood by intelligent Socialists. In reality, the *government* and the *state*, in the sense in which these terms are now understood, will have no existence under Socialism. These words are not used in any of the definitions of Socialism given by its advocates and writers; for,—let it be reiterated,—Socialism does not recognize the existence of either government or state in the ordinary sense of a power over the people and distinct from them. The Socialist conception of government—if that word is to be used at all—has nothing to do with that relic of barbarism—a mere abstraction of lordly and imperious power set *over* the people to awe and rule them. On the contrary, the Socialist ideal is: an organized administration of *self-government* and self-management through agencies which are not *above* the people, but *of* them and on a level with them. And as this administration is to be for the mutual and equal interest of the entire people, what harm

could result from turning things over to the "government," that is, to the people *themselves*? It is plain to see that *such* a "government" would be neither paternalism nor centralization of power, but fraternalism and a complete diffusion of power.

## 2 *That it is Anarchy.*

The other—and opposite—objection is, that Socialism, like Anarchy, proposes to have no government at all, and that it would subvert the very foundations of social order.

This is somewhat of a paradox, that Socialism would work inversely,—adding to the power of government, and at the same time overthrow the government! But this is a fair sample of the kind of "argument" which prejudice employs.

In reality, Socialism is so far from any similarity to anarchy that the two have absolutely nothing in common beyond the postulate that *existing conditions are wrong, and need to be righted*. The socialistic and the anarchistic methods of righting the wrong are, in all their essential characteristics, wholly at variance, and have been in direct opposition ever since the international congress at the Hague, a quarter of a century ago, when Karl Marx led the Socialists into one camp, and Michael Bakunin led the Anarchists into another.

This contrariety plainly appears on comparison of the two plans. Anarchy is based on the individual; Socialism on the collectivity. Anarchists trust to the spontaneous and voluntary association of individuals to do the right thing at the right time, as emergencies arise for co-operative action; while Socialists work under prescribed regulations defined and formulated in a written constitution. Their action is orderly and for the public good, while that

of anarchists is disorderly and is liable to be for individual gratification.

Anarchy would abolish the state, while Socialism would transform the state into a constitutional co-operative commonwealth. Where now is the resemblance of Socialism to anarchy?

Before leaving this point the author deems it his duty to offer a suggestion to the American people—in fact, to the world—as to the proper method of dealing with anarchy. After the assassination of McKinley there was loud clamoring among the people, including the clergy and government officials, for vengeance upon the anarchists, and for their suppression by law. Now, to say nothing of the inconsistency of a Christian policy of vengeance, the secular governments of the world ought to have learned by this time the folly and failure of that policy. It has been the policy of all nations in all ages, yet it has never civilized any tribe, nor has it made the people of any nation virtuous. On the contrary, it is just as certain that the fighting of evil with evil will always perpetuate the evil, as that like begets like, and that every plant of the field has its seed within itself, and every tree yields fruit “after its kind.” And how pitiable the ignorance and folly of attempting to suppress anarchy by legislating against it! Legislation—and the system upheld by it—is the very thing the anarchists are fighting. Can fire be extinguished by adding fuel to the flames? The only way to cure anarchy—and all other forms of evil in the body-politic—is to remove the cause. A wise physician treats the disease, not the symptoms. Anarchy is only one symptom (among many) of a constitutional disease of the body-politic. The disease to be treated is “competitive life,” and Socialism offers the only remedy, “the co-operative commonwealth.”

Our political wiseacres have much to say about "dangerous opinions," and talk of suppressing them by law. If they but knew it, the dangerous opinion is the suppressed opinion. A boiler never explodes while the steam has proper vent; but let the engineer undertake to suppress it—then look out! The policy of suppression is the policy of despotism. A free government never resorts to it. A government that does so may call itself free; but be that government a monarchy or a republic, it is a despotism. A government that interferes with the free expression of opinion, written or spoken, may be called a democracy, but such democracy is spurious. It is not the kind of democracy cherished by Thomas Jefferson, who declared: "It is always safe to give Error a hearing, so long as Truth is free to combat it."

No government is free where the people are not free to criticise the officials, the policies, the laws and the institutions of the government under which they live. And we may always be sure that wherever an attempt at suppression is resorted to, it is either through ignorance of the true purposes of government, mistaken views of sound public policy, or else for the conscious purpose of hiding from the people some public wrong against which a popular uprising is feared. It is always the policy of the oppressor to maintain by concealment or force what cannot be defended by reason and justice.

Let the world cease the injustice that produces anarchists, and the trouble will all be over. Let governments be run in the general interest of all the people, instead of the special interest of kings and princes, magnates and millionaires; then anarchy, with all the rest of the brood—crime, revolt, and social chaos—resulting from governmental systems of injustice and inhumanity, will quickly dis-

appear from the face of the earth. Then the bullets and daggers of assassins will no longer be feared, and laws for the suppression of strikes, treason, nihilism and anarchy will no longer be required. Body-guarded kings and kaisers, czars and presidents will then be things of the past. But the enactment of laws against anarchy, while permitting the causes that produce anarchy to remain still in existence, must prove as futile as legislation against the filth and stench of a slaughter-pen would be while the pen remains untouched and actively generating the foulness complained of.

### 3 *That It is Communism.*

Communism is the extreme opposite of our present system of competition. Socialism is the just mean between the two, and as truth is always found between the opposite extremes of error, Socialism is in the right place. Competition—in one extreme—is a war of interests between individuals. Communism, in the other extreme, merges the individual in the community. The true social order must be a just balance between the individual and the state, so as not to infringe upon the rights or interests of either one or the other—the underlying principle being that the interests of one are the interests of all, and that an injury to one is an injury to all. As the welfare of the physical body is dependent upon the condition of each and all of its parts, so the welfare of the body-politic depends upon the condition of each individual member. No matter how strenuously one may deny the brotherhood of another, the fact remains that the people, as a whole, are essentially *one*, and the leading thought of law-makers should be how to make that one—the collectivity—harmonious within

itself. While the liberty of the individual must have scope for the development and free exercise of the best that is in him, yet individual liberty must be so restricted as to prevent any infringement on the rights of other individuals or on the interests of the collectivity, thus securing for all complete equality of opportunity, and making it impossible for any one to exploit another or to monopolize the means of life.

Communism goes to the extreme—wholly losing the individual in the community. Socialism is a compromise between the individual and the community, securing a proper balance and harmony of interests between them.

Under Communism life is reduced to a monotonous level, essential uniformity being required in manner, style, quality and habitude. Under Socialism, on the contrary, the manner of living, whether in domestic arrangements or the gratification of individual tastes and inclinations, will not be interfered with. Socialism has nothing to do with the manner of enjoying life, but only with the manner of securing and distributing the means of life—its program being the co-operative production and distribution of wealth.

Communism excludes private ownership of property. Socialism does not interfere with private ownership of property as such, but provides for the *collective* ownership of capital—property used in the production and distribution of wealth. Under Socialism, production *for public use* will be the function of the state. Individuals will have as full freedom to produce as now, but as products will be sold for home use at cost, no producer could compete with the state, and no statutory prohibition would be necessary. Works of art, inventions, literary productions, etc., while encouraged by the state can not be monopolized, the peo-

ple being free to use their time and expend their means as they see fit, each being entitled to all he earns, and unrestricted as to the mode of its enjoyment. The economic change involved in Socialism is essentially a change not in the manner of living, but in the manner of *making* a living.

The plan of Communism is that of segregation into small communities, separate from and independent of one another, all remaining subject to the old form of general government, whether monarchical or republican. On the contrary, the plan of Socialism is, to transform, by political action, the general government into a co-operative commonwealth composed of the whole people.

#### 4. *That It would End in a Dead Level Equality.*

The idea of a state of society which, by destroying the aristocracy of wealth and the social exclusiveness based upon it, would do away with the distinctions now existing between the rich and the poor, is, of course, distasteful to the "nobility." This dread of being on a par with common people is the result of a false standard (the money standard) of judging what constitutes true dignity and worth. Under Socialism none will be burdened with wealth, and none made miserable by poverty. Both these will disappear with the passing away of their cause. Then with just conceptions of what really confers excellence on human society and human life, this barbarous pride of wealth, with its spurious social code, will quickly disappear, and be replaced with the genuine standard of measurement, that of intellectual and moral excellence. This subject is handled so well by William Dean Howells, that his treatment of it will be all that is needed here. Writing, not as a Socialist but only as an observer and thinker, he says:

"The strangest thing about society as it exists today is that while everybody acknowledges good society to be the highest expression of civilization, the purest joy and sweetest pleasure of it, many people, especially 'society' people, should fear to have its greatest blessing, its most delicate beauty and subtlest charm, imparted to the whole life.

"If you speak of social equality before some women, they imagine that you want to take their pretty clothes away, and put them in the kitchen along with the cook, or, at best, expect them to dust their own parlors. Some men conceive of it with like force and intelligence, and ask if you believe they ought to get no more money for toiling all day in a bank parlor or managing a large business, than the fellow that works on the roads or tends a machine in a mill. In either case they stand in abhorrence of what they call "the dead-level equality."

"I do not suppose there ever was a human being who got any good from *inequality*, and I think one may safely defy those who abhor equality to say what harm there would be in it. I, for my part, would like to have some one say why its level would be dead. Do those people live most who are the most deeply and hopelessly sundered into castes? Were those ages the happiest or the usefulest when there were masters and slaves, lords and villeins, and every man knew his place; or were the people more animated then than now when we have pretty well rid ourselves of such differences, and no man thinks any other man's place rightfully beyond him? Is the arrest of development greater on the plains of society than on the summits or in the abysses? Is a king particularly alive? Is an aristocrat? Is a peasant? Have the inventions, the good books, the beautiful pictures and statues, the just laws, the physical comforts, even, come from the up-

permost or the lowermost classes ? They have mostly come from the middle class; from those above want, but not above work; from the inexhaustible and generous vitality of the widest level of life.

“If it is from equality (not from inequality) that we have anything to hope, we certainly have nothing to fear from it. I know we are told the inferiors would be very rude and bad if there were no superiors to set them a good example, but hitherto the superiors have only very exceptionally behaved as if this were their office in the world. They have tried to get all the pleasure (mainly the gross pleasure) they could out of life, at the expense of the inferiors. I do not believe one lovely or amiable thing would be lost if equality were to become the rule and fashion of the whole race, as it is now the rule and fashion of the best and wisest of the race in society. Men have believed that there was something to be gained by setting themselves apart from other men, and they have actually, at times, believed that those whom they excluded and oppressed believed this also, because they suffered it. But the inferior never believed, even in the depths of slavery, that inequality was a gain to *him*, whatever it might be to the superior, and he suffered it because he must. It never was a gain to the superior, except in some advantages of food, clothing and shelter. It never made him in any wise a finer, purer, juster man; and it, very often, made him arrogant, luxurious, bestial.

“Certain sentimentalists, however, for want of a better grievance, complain of equality as unpicturesque. They are not able, apparently, to say why it is unpicturesque, and I never could find that they wished to contribute to the picturesqueness of inequality through any discomfort of their own. I never met a single person, of all those

who praise inequality, willing to take the lower place, not to speak of the lowest. What is perhaps stranger still is that none of those who are down seem to like it, although they are used to being down, and have not the excuse of unfamiliarity with their position, which their superiors might urge if they were asked to descend in the scale. The underlings are not satisfied when the overlings tell them that it is not only fit that they should be where they are, but that it is very picturesque, and that it promotes sympathy in the overlings. Without troubling themselves to deny that it is picturesque, they invite the overlings to try it awhile themselves, and then they will be better able to say whether it is fit or not. As for sympathy, they would like to be in a position to do a little sympathising too.

“I doubt, in fine, if anybody wants inequality. None but the superiors ever pretend to want it; the inferiors openly or secretly detest it. I doubt that the superiors have any comfort in it; the body of a man, especially the face of a man, with his more or less squirming, is not an agreeable footing, and I think no one truly enjoys the bad eminence it gives him.

“What we truly enjoy in each other is likeness, not unlikeness. Likeness is what makes the pleasure of good society. There is no rest save on the common ground. If I met a man of different traditions, different religion, different race, different language, I am pleased with him a moment, as I should be with a fairy, or an amiable goblin; but he presently bores me, when the surprise of him is over. I find that we have no common ground. The perpetual yearning of our hearts is for intelligent response, and this can come only from our equals—from equality.

“Many people do not understand this yet, and in my

more uncharitable moments I have sometimes suspected that those who talked of the 'dead level of equality,' and who dread or affect to dread equality, are dreaming of pleasure through their pride or vanity from inequality. They do not propose to be inferiors in the inequality they profess to like; they are greedily promising themselves to be princes and princesses in it, or at least dukes and duchesses, with or without the titles. They are either doing this, or else they are feeling some weakness in themselves which will not bear the test of equality. These are the kind of people who snub or truckle in good society, and cannot conceive that the good and beauty of society are imperilled whenever its spirit of equality is violated. For the sake of having the man behind their chairs, they are willing to be treated *de haut en bas* by the man across the table."

It needs only to be added here that the Socialist program, being concerned exclusively with political and economic changes from the present order of things, there need not be the slightest fear of any serious disturbance of the purely social phases of life, which are matters wholly distinct from both politics and economics. Every separate phase of life is regulated by its own autonomy, and what is technically known as "society," with its self-regulating law of affinity and companionship, would be no more affected by the economic changes involved in Socialism than would be religious beliefs and church affiliations. The same cry of "social equality" and the fearful "breaking down of social distinctions" terrified thousands of people when chattel slavery was abolished and the political franchise was given to the negro. But the false alarm soon subsided when it was discovered that social relations are one thing and political relations are quite another. Only let it not

be forgotten that the new and rational economic conditions under Socialism will put an end to *all* spurious distinctions and false standards of life which have their origin in *present* conditions—great wealth and dire poverty.

5. *That It would Destroy Incentive to Activity and Enterprise.*

Finally, it is almost universally objected by the opponents of Socialism that there would be no incentive to ambition and enterprise under Socialist life. This objection is quite natural to the average mind of today, because the average mind is, from habit, dominated by the erroneous assumption that the motives which have hitherto stimulated men to industry and enterprise under the competitive and selfish systems of the past, are the only kind of incentives that can effectually appeal to human nature under *any* conditions. But if men will only reflect that the motives of human action are almost wholly the result of environment and habit, it will readily be seen how a radical change of environment will soon effect a corresponding change, not merely in the outward conduct of men, but in their feelings and motives of action.

If the great incentive to industrial activity at present is the desire of individual gain, it is not because men are essentially selfish, nor because they are incapable of higher and nobler promptings, but because the conditions of competitive life, under which all their economic ideals and habits have been formed, have compelled them to live on the selfish plane in order to live at all. Reverse these conditions, as Socialism proposes, placing the economy of life on the fraternal basis of common interest, instead of the individual basis of self-interest, and it will soon be as natural for men to be prompted by a noble impulse for

the common good as it is now for them to be engrossed with designs for self-advancement.

Even under present conditions the highest achievements are not prompted by sordid motives. Naturalists and scientists search for something else than gold. The best inventions, literary productions and works of art are not made merely for money. Only ordinary services are rendered wholly for hire, and, under Socialism, when the idler will receive only what he *earns*, the incentive to labor will be stronger than now.

It is an unjust commentary on human nature to say that our race can never rise above the selfish plane of activities. Yet this is precisely what is affirmed when it is objected that Socialism would destroy enterprise by taking away all the incentive to action, and paralyzing all man's effort for betterment. No! Socialism will not destroy or even weaken incentives to effort; it will only change the *character* of incentive by lifting it from the selfish to the unselfish plane.

But what is most of all to be wondered at here is the strange fallacy by which the people are deluding themselves with the idea that their chances for a living are better under the present selfish, chaotic struggle for uncertain employment as wage-workers for other people, or in haphazard individual enterprises of luck and speculation, than they would be under Socialism—a system of integral co-operation, under which there would be assured and fully remunerated employment for all, with an absolute certainty of bountiful provision for the needs of every human being, physical, social, intellectual and moral.

This abnormal, not to say insane, attitude of the average mind can be accounted for only as the persistence of the selfish instinct resulting from past ages of competitive

struggle for existence. Certainly it would seem that the sun of a better civilization—to say nothing of twenty centuries of Christian civilization—ought to be high enough in the heavens by this time to convince the world of the folly and failure of the selfish plan of life, and to reveal a standard of incentives to human conduct more worthy the dignity of human nature. It is little wonder there is already a clamor on the part of many thoughtful and conscientious Christian ministers for ‘applied Christianity,’ and still less wonder that these men, in growing numbers, are proclaiming to the world that it is under Socialism alone that the genuine principles of Christianity will ever find a practical working basis.

The subject of “Incentives under Socialism” is treated by an able writer in “The Worker,” New York, in such a business-like and practical way that the article may be quoted in full as a sufficient answer to the objector:

“Would Socialism destroy the incentive to action? Would we lose our energy and enterprise? Would we become lazy, and sink to ‘a dead-level of mediocrity?’ The opponents of Socialism say this would be the result; that if we were relieved from the pressure of competition, we would cease to exert ourselves, and be satisfied with a life of inglorious ease. They maintain that hunger or the fear of hunger is the only incentive which now spurs men to do any kind of useful work. Socialism, they admit, would assure every one against hunger or want. In that case, it is claimed, every one would be satisfied to do just enough work to get a living and no more; and that it would require so little effort to get a living that we should degenerate through idleness and excessive ease.

“This is an interesting argument, if only because it admits that Socialism would secure an easy and comfortable exist-

ence to every human being. But let us examine the argument a little more carefully.

“What is the difference between the present capitalist system of industry and the coming system of Socialism? The difference is this: Under capitalism a part of the people own the land, mines, forests, water-power, railroads, factories, and other means of production as their private capital. They can allow other men to work with these necessary means of production, or they can forbid them the opportunity to earn a living. When they ‘give employment’ to the workers they can make their own terms. When a man works for a capitalist he has to accept wages very much below the value of the wealth his labor has created, and the surplus remains as a profit for the capitalist, who is thus enabled to live at ease, while the workers are always either in want or in danger of want.

“Under Socialism, on the contrary, all these means of production will be held as common property, to be used for the common good. Every man who works will receive the full value that his labor creates, without any allowance for profit, interest and rent for the non-producers. Every man will be given an opportunity to work—in fact, every man will *have* to do some useful work, because no man can get a profit out of any other man’s labor.

“Now, keeping this distinction between Capitalism and Socialism clearly in mind, consider what effect the change would have upon the incentive to industry among the masses of the people:

“First—the incentive to do ordinary work. One does not have to be a Socialist to know that as society is now constituted, the man who does the hardest and most unpleasant work is the very man who gets the least reward. Go through the scale of the occupations, from bottom to

top, and you will find that the most laborious trades, the most offensive, the most dangerous, the most unhealthful, and the ones in which the hours of labor are the longest, are just the ones in which the lowest wages are paid.

Again—everyone knows that the occupations which are the least useful to society are the ones which bring the greatest pecuniary rewards. The banker, the broker, the money-lender, are—as most people will probably agree—less useful to society than the mechanic, the factory-operator, and the farm laborer; yet the former frequently get rich, while a mechanic, a factory-hand, or a laborer who could save enough to enable him to take a pleasure-trip to Europe, for instance, would be a nine-days' wonder.

“Finally, everyone knows that one effect of competition is the making of dishonest goods and the doing of dishonest work. Cheapness wins. It is much cheaper for a contractor to use poor materials, and have his work rushed and poorly done. Shoddy clothes and shoes can be sold cheaper than those made of good material. For the sake of cheapness, milk is diluted with water and ‘preserved’ with various acids, and drugs are adulterated, and cheap drugs substituted for those that are costly; so we cannot be sure of getting pure milk and honest medicines for our babies when they are sick.

“To sum up: Capitalism brings a better pecuniary reward to those who do *not* work than to those who do; better to those who do *useless* work than to those whose services are socially useful; better to those who do *dishonest* work than to those who work honestly. It would seem that under capitalism the pecuniary-gain-incentive bears evil fruits.

Under Socialism it would be otherwise. Every man being rewarded in proportion to the social value of his labor,

the plainest self-interest would prompt every man to work well. Industry being carried on for the public good, not for private profit, the interest of each would be the interest of all. Personal interest would be an incentive to work for the general good as it never has been before. St. Paul's maxim—"He who will not work, neither shall he eat"—would for the first time be a real rule of life.

"So much for the incentive to ordinary work. As to the works of genius—invention, literature, music, art—who believes that a system which means overwork and poverty for the masses, and idleness and luxury for the few, favors the development of genius? Our inventors die poor, while capitalists grow rich on their work. Many of the world's greatest writers, scientists, composers, and artists have lived on the verge of starvation. The world is full of 'mute, inglorious Miltons' whom poverty keeps in silence and in ignorance.

"Does any one really believe that men would have less incentive to effort under a system that gave every man a chance to make a good living than under the present system of poverty and excessive riches? Let us answer them with one final argument: We who live in civilized society have greater security of life than our savage ancestors, yet we have not degenerated. We have higher and stronger incentives to action than our ancestors had; and when Socialism comes men will laugh at the silly theory now urged, that legal robbery is the foundation of industry and progress. Free the race from the acute and desperate struggle for a livelihood, and the minds of men would be free to soar to heights hitherto unknown."

To conclude this part of the subject, there is an additional argument which alone ought to make any just and rational man ashamed to advocate the present system of

economy on the ground of superior incentives. This fact is, that under our competitive struggle for existence, even those who succeed in making a living by honest toil are bond slaves to that toil, while those who fail become vagabonds, or, to use modern terms, tramps, hoboës. Let the laboring man decide for himself which is the nobler incentive to effort—the incentive which promises the possibility of making him a perpetual *slave* to work, or the incentive which insures the certainty of making him a *tramp* without work !

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE FORCES AT WORK FOR SOCIALISM.

#### 1. *Capitalism.*

Society is approaching Socialism from four directions, and by four distinct agencies. The first and most potent of these forces is doing its work blindly, and without any such intent. In fact, it believes itself to be the enemy of Socialism and working to prevent it. This force is Capitalism, with its vast accumulations of wealth and its great centralizations of organized industry. But it has already been shown, in a previous part of this book, how these great corporate combinations, instead of being obstacles in the way of the Socialist movement, are demonstrating the nature and necessity of Socialism, and laying the foundations on which it must stand—the complete consolidation of industry under one great co-operative management in the interest of the entire people. In other words, capitalism, as an organizer of the means of *production*, is a working model for the Socialists, whose privilege and pleasure it will be to teach them a more just mode of *distribution*.

#### 2. *Organized Labor.*

The second most potent organized agency at work for Socialism is the Labor Union army. It is potent for two reasons—its numerical strength and the directness of its

antagonism to the present capitalist domination. The heroic and determined war being waged by organized labor is not professedly, and in the main not consciously, in the interest of Socialism; but, being a fight against capitalist exploitation—which Socialism is also fighting—it is essentially a fight for Socialism. He who fights against my enemy is fighting for me, whether he knows it or not.

In reality, the tendency of the labor forces toward Socialism, in consequence of the double fight against a common enemy, must, ere long, become clearly apparent, as the unions are, in no small degree, composed of Socialist members. Adding to this the further fact that the Socialist party and the labor unions are both primarily class movements, and are both working in the interest of identically the same class—the working class—it becomes a question of serious practical concern to both organizations to ascertain definitely the real obstacle which prevents the labor forces from uniting with the Socialists at the polls, and going at once to complete victory. There are two things quite evident: first, that, without a united labor vote, Socialism cannot win; second, that, until Socialism does win, labor strikes can never end, nor can the laborer ever get his dues. The first of these propositions is too manifestly true to require argument; but, as the second is not plain to large numbers in the ranks of labor, it may be well to reason a little on the subject:

The reason why labor can never get its dues, and labor-strikes can never end under the present economic system, is short and simple. First, labor will never get its dues until it gets *all* it earns; and this it can never get while the laborer works as a hireling for other men who, as owners of the capital employed, retain most of his earnings as profit for themselves. Second, labor strife can

never end under the present system, because so long as the laborer works for another as a hireling it will always be the interest of the employer to pay the smallest wage possible; and who is so blind as not to see in this fact the inevitable cause of strife? While the industries of the nation are carried on by hireling laborers with their warring interests on one side, and the exploiters of labor with adverse interests on the other, what else than strife can be expected?

Just here the line is distinctly drawn between a labor-unionist who is not yet a Socialist and one who *is*. The non-Socialist has seen a part of the show, but has not seen the elephant. The Socialist has. The non-Socialist man has seen and felt the conflict between labor and capital, and the necessity of organized self-protection on the part of labor by means of demands and strikes for shorter time and higher wages. The Socialist laboring-man has seen all this; and, being sufficiently wise and thoughtful, has sympathized with and joined his fellow-toilers in their efforts to build up the union, not because he has any faith in the labor union method as the true solution of the labor problem, but because he knows the union to be one of the necessary stages leading up to the true and only solution, which is—SOCIALISM. This is the elephant the other man has not seen.

The Socialists are helping the unions to see that the only cure for our industrial malady (as of other diseases) is to remove the cause, instead of keeping up a hopeless struggle against symptoms. The cause being a conflict of class-interests in our industrial system, the system itself must be changed, and class interests abolished as proposed by the Socialist program of collective ownership and co-operative industry. This change, as the unions are begin-

ning to see, can be effected only through political action, by a united labor vote for Socialism, and not by dallying with either of the old political parties, or with a "labor party," under "labor leaders" who have no true conception of the changes required.

Meanwhile, let every Socialist stand shoulder to shoulder with the unions, remembering not only that the work the unions are doing is an essential part of the evolutionary struggle towards the new social order, but that they constitute the main body of the army that is marching on to its realization.

### 3. *Socialist Political Propaganda and Co-operative Enterprises.*

The other two agencies at work for Socialism are being carried on by Socialists themselves with a direct and intelligent purpose. One is by experiments in co-operative life, and the other by political organization and propaganda. These two methods of Socialist advance—the industrial and the political—seem not only in perfect harmony with each other, but the logical complement of each other; and yet, strange to say, Socialists are not all agreed as to the expediency of attempting to work along both of these lines at once. This is, of course, unfortunate, as discord among comrades is always an element of weakness. As yet, the matter has not come to an open controversy, and it is to be hoped it never will; but the divergence of opinion is manifest, and is having its effect in retarding the progress of Socialism. There is a conscious feeling on both sides that the forces are divided, and a tacit understanding on each side that the other's way is not the *right* way (not the *best* way) to expedite the advent of Socialism.

This virtual separation of Socialists into two camps is most pronounced among the political Socialists, many of whom maintain—almost as an article of faith—that co-operative experiments do Socialism no good, but positive harm, being only attempts to palliate the sufferings of the patient, instead of healing the disease. It is claimed that the people will rely on the palliative, and that as long as mere palliatives are relied upon there will be indifference to the radical cure, and that the more successful the palliatives are the longer the cure will be postponed. Now, while this reasoning is specious, and has the semblance of truth, it is nevertheless an error, as appears from the following considerations :

First—It is based on the false assumption that the use of palliatives is always inexpedient—something to be avoided. This is far from being true, as palliatives are constantly resorted to, not only by the wisest physicians, in treating diseases of the human body, but by all rational men in all other remedial processes. They are not only legitimate and proper, but often absolutely necessary for temporary relief while a permanent cure is being effected. Who ever heard of a patient refusing to be temporarily relieved of pain because of fear that such relief would prevent his permanent cure ? Surely there is no danger that any intelligent Socialist—mistaking a palliative for a permanent cure of our economic evils—will be content with the palliative, stopping short of the cure. Palliatives are easy stepping-stones from one stage of advancement to another, and there are many Socialists who need such an aid to progress. A sudden revolution from capitalism to Socialism without bloodshed, seeming to them impossible, is appalling, and therefore discouraging.

Second—The rejection of palliative measures is unsci-

entific, and hence a mistake. It is contrary to the order of nature, and in conflict with the universal law of evolution. The normal order of progress is not by leaps and bounds. Even what appear to be sudden and violent breakings from the old to the new are but the transition crises of long preparatory processes. These crises are called revolutions, and the only safe and legitimate revolution is that which comes as the ripened fruit of evolution. Gladstone spoke thoughtfully when he said: "No greater calamity could befall a nation than a violent and premature break from its past."

Socialists who think that the new order of human society programmed in Socialism can come in a day, either through political action or industrial co-operation, or both, are dreaming; and there is reason to suspect that much of the unfriendliness towards industrial co-operation manifested among Socialists is due to a feeling of reckless desperation, the result of reasoning after this fashion :

"Socialism is not a reform ! It is a revolution ! It is sure to come—and the sooner the better ! Reform is a failure ! No use to patch up an old garment—it must be destroyed, and replaced with a new one ! Away with your co-operative schemes for betterment ! We are revolutionists—not reformers !"

While there can be no valid objection to calling Socialism a revolution, provided the elements of violence and war are excluded from the meaning of the word, still, any use of the word in connection with Socialism which would exclude the industrial factor from the Socialist movement, is a grave error; for we have only to recall the fact that the main purpose of Socialism is a change in industrial and economic conditions, and it at once becomes evident that every practical step taken by the people towards the ac-

tual establishment of the new industrial order is a step toward Socialism—not away from it.

It is true that the Socialist state proper cannot come—in its completeness—until a Socialist majority, by political action, transforms the entire body-politic into a co-operative commonwealth; but who does not see that the more familiar the people become with the new industrial methods by actual experience in co-operative life, however imperfect it may be, the better they will be prepared for the new regime when it comes? It is doubtful whether any people—even the intelligent American people—supposing them all to be Socialists, would know exactly what to do were Socialism suddenly thrust upon them. The transition from the old order to the new would be so great, the old habitudes so deeply rooted, the new methods so unfamiliar, and the magnitude of the business and industrial changes so vast, it is almost certain that any attempt at immediate readjustment of affairs to the demands of the new situation would result in temporary confusion, if not in long continued disaster.

Let Socialists beware lest their zeal outrun their discretion. A wise man will not attempt to work as master of a trade until he has learned it; neither will he pull down his old house until the new one has a roof over it, lest he find himself and family without shelter; and prudence is as necessary for a nation as for a tradesman or a householder.

While Socialists are educating the people to vote the Socialist ticket, they will also, if they are wise, encourage the people to live, as far as possible, the Socialist life; and this can be done only by means of co-operative industry, either fractionally—by specific enterprises, like co-operative stores, shops, etc.—or integrally, in aggregated

settlements and communities. In this way the whole land may be dotted with centers of new life, practically socialized, and ready to be transferred in working order to the new political regime when it comes. Would not this be a safer way than for the people to wake up some morning, rub their eyes, and find themselves turned over to Socialism by a majority vote? Looking around on the "new order of things," they feel like shipwrecked sailors in a strange land of unbroken forests—not a stick of timber cut for a settlement, no preparation for "the new life," nor any *practical* knowledge of it—nothing but the *theory* of the Socialist platform and the fact that Socialism had been voted in! Is the picture a pleasant one for contemplation?

The importance of the *industrial* method of approach to Socialism is briefly stated by a Socialist writer in "The Co-operator" as follows:

"A single sentence from Karl Marx explains the real situation: 'Economic conditions control all other conditions.' If this is true, how can we expect to reverse the order of cause and effect, and control economic conditions by political conditions? No! Politics, politicians, political parties, legislatures, congresses—all of them—are not only controlled by our economic conditions, but are the very creatures of those conditions—transacting public business in the interest of the economic *masters* and exploiters of the people. And the people go on voting themselves into continued slavery under the delusion that they are free. While all this is taking place, let us agitate, educate, vote! Yes, but remember, the order of evolution is: *economics first, politics second*. A few practical demonstrations of our readiness and ability to live the new life of unselfishness, plenty and peace, will do far more towards

bringing in the new order of politics than politics will do to bring in the new order of life. In fact, is there not quite an uncertain prospect of securing national co-operation through the ballot until we have co-operation in neighborhoods, villages, towns, cities and states? There is an order of evolution in society as well as in the material world—an order which cannot be escaped. That order is, to proceed from particulars to generals. You cannot pass from one order of society to another by sudden leaps, except through the agency of war. And to enable the nation to pass peaceably from competition to co-operation must we not have, throughout the nation, collections of co-operators who will act as leaven for the whole lump?

There is another vital point as to the best method to be pursued for the gradual (and therefore safe) transition from competitive to co-operative industry. This point is, that wherever it is possible, instead of starting new enterprises, induce the owners of stores, shops, etc., to join in the co-operative movement, and to bring their business in with them. In this way Socialists will avoid the appearance of offensively antagonizing the interests of non-Socialists by setting up opposition establishments. This method has the further great advantage of avoiding the multiplication of business enterprises, of which there is already a ruinous surplus.

There are multitudes of business men (and business firms of small capital) who are struggling to keep their heads above the waves of competitive strife, and who would be glad to end the wretched struggle by turning over both themselves and their business, when it is pointed out to them that they will thereby lose nothing except their burden of individual strain and worry, but will gain the very thing they have been vainly striving for—a compe-

tent and easy living, with no fear of losing it. In fact, it is this very failure that is driving thousands into Socialism from the ranks of business men as well as wage workers.

With the present selfish habitudes of the people, actual suffering is about the only effectual argument with the average man. When his stress of suffering becomes great enough, it will always force him to some course of action for relief. Men may not understand the subtleties of economic philosophy, but they know when they are hungry. Thus, in the admirable economy of human life, wrong conditions finally correct themselves, by forcing men to act wisely from purely selfish motives, when they are on too low a moral plane to choose the right for its own sake.

As to the necessity of political action in order to bring about the Socialist commonwealth, little need be said. It is self-evident that the Socialist state—though its essential nature be that of an industrial commonwealth—can not be established without political action, nor can it be maintained without the machinery of a body-politic. Without this, the integrity of government—in fact, government itself as a compact of the people—is inconceivable. Such a government necessarily implies an organic constitution, with its three essential departments, legislative, executive and judicial. All these are essentially political functions. Hence, the inevitable conclusion, that a Socialist government can no more exist without a political regime than can our present competitive system exist without it.

## CHAPTER IX.

### HAS SOCIALISM A WORKING HYPOTHESIS EXPLAINABLE IN ADVANCE ?

#### 1. *If it has not, Something is Wrong!*

A large percentage of our prominent writers and speakers for Socialism are in the habit of evading certain questions, which people naturally ask, as to how Socialism is going to work in its application to particular cases. The usual evasion is, that details will take care of themselves when the emergency arises—that in the practical application of a new system it cannot be definitely foreseen just how it will work in given cases.

While such answers are sometimes quite convenient, they are of very doubtful wisdom. No new theory of society is likely to gain credence with thinking people, however beautiful and perfect in the abstract, unless its advocates are able to show with reasonable certainty how it is going to work concretely in all the essential details of its application. The interests of society are too serious to be experimented with by buying a pig in a poke, or lightly “flying from the ills we have to those we know not of.” And surely no well-equipped Socialist ought to find himself nonplussed for an intelligent answer to an intelligent question regarding any matter of real importance in the practical workings of Socialism. Otherwise the Socialist program will be justly chargeable with the very serious defect of being without a satisfactory working hypothesis.

2. *Knotty Questions Answered as to How Private Property is to be Taken Over to the Collectivity.*

These evaded questions relate, in the main, to the methods proposed by Socialists for making the transfer of property from the old order to the new. Will private property be confiscated to the state? Will the accumulated wealth of individuals and corporations be simply taken away from the owners without compensation? How will the railroads, telegraphs, coal-beds, mines, oil-fields, factory-plants, etc., be taken over from private to public ownership? As the land is an essential means of production, and since all the means of production as well as distribution are to be socialized, in what manner will the present private holdings of land be abolished, and the collectivity come into possession? Would the farmers, who, as a rule, are not yet Socialists, be forcibly dispossessed, and their farms appropriated by the public?

When questions like these are asked, Socialists cannot afford to answer either evasively or indefinitely. Such questions are neither impertinent nor idle, but directly involve some of the most vital principles of civilized society—those of justice and right. While the Socialists can not be reasonably expected to answer these questions with exactness of detail as to what will be done in each given case, they are justly bound to show what can and may be done in *all* cases without violating any essential principle of social and economic justice. For, if the Socialist program, either in itself, or in any of its practical workings, requires the least wrong or injustice to be done, it is itself wrong, and should be abandoned.

But the principles of Socialism involve no such necessity or requirement. Under its operation not one dollar's

which means simply the "vested rights" which some people have shrewdly acquired to make their living by the sweat of other people's brows? Such possessions, being only artificial, and not of the nature of true wealth, which is always a thing of intrinsic worth, and not a mere *symbol* of value, and, above all, not being based on any pretence of having been acquired by an actual outlay of equivalent substantial values, it is therefore easy to see that, in being deprived of such unjust and fictitious advantages, the damages to be assessed under the law of eminent domain will not be a matter of very serious concern. Still, whatever it is, in the eyes of even-handed justice, it must be met, or a wrong is done.

## CHAPTER X.

### PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW ORDER.

1. *Reasons why this Period will be More Critical, More Prolonged, and More Difficult than Most Socialists Apprehend.*

To the thoughtful student of social and political changes (especially changes involving revolutions of industrial economy and the laws of property) it is manifest that, in passing from the present to the Socialist state, there must be a period of transition far greater than is commonly imagined by those who think of Socialism simply as something to be "voted in." If Socialism is to come without a shock, this period of transition will include not only the preparatory steps in co-operative life (already insisted on as the normal prelude to Socialist victory at the polls), but also a more or less extended period *after* the ballot victory has been won.

In ordinary political contests majorities go into power and carry out their policies without any serious friction. But the issues involved in a Socialist victory are not ordinary. Such a victory means a radical reconstruction of society. To work such a change there is something to do besides mere voting. When the results of a popular election involve only a change of office-holders and of party administration it is a matter of small import; for, when the vote is counted, the work is done, and things go on in

the same old way; but when the coming of a new party into power means, not merely a change of party administration, but a change of the organic laws, customs and institutions of the government—even a change in the fundamental principles of economic life, and the ownership of property—this is another kind of problem.

It is an easy thing to “vote in” Socialism when a majority are ready for it; but it is quite another task to make the new regime work smoothly while a large minority are *not* ready for it. To see *why* the Socialist state cannot be ushered in *all at once* without violence, it is only necessary to make a common-sense analysis of the conditions to be reckoned with. The all-important fact in this analysis is that the several phases or branches of our present economic life are widely different in their degree of readiness for the change from the old to the new order. In the normal process of industrial development, certain industries naturally advance towards organic centralization more rapidly than others, and in this fact Socialism finds the problem of its transition period.

### 3. *Industries Classified According to their Readiness for the New Economy.*

Classifying the grand total of industries constituting the economic structure of our civilization, we find practically the following condition of affairs:

First in order of readiness for socialization are what are loosely termed “public utilities,” those necessary conditions, supplies and services which are in their nature too vital to be left to private exploitation, and too extensive and universal for individual control. Such are our public lands, our public schools, public highways, the postal service, and various other public institutions which have

already, one by one, been socialized as far as possible under a capitalistic system. And yet people talk of public ownership as if it were some new and untried experiment. In addition to the great public interests already socialized, a number of others of the same class of public utilities are now ripe for it. Even within the last decade, mainly through the propaganda of the Populist party, which made its noble fight for public ownership of monopolies, public sentiment has been so effectually educated on that subject that today no political party dares to go before the people without in some way declaring in favor of enlarging the scope of public ownership. And although this attitude is as yet mainly limited to municipal affairs, the sentiment is growing so rapidly that it can be but a short time till the public ownership of public utilities will be demanded as a part of the general as well as the municipal policy, including the great railroads and telegraph systems of the nation, as well as the water, light, and street car services of municipalities. These public utilities, then, are the first to be socialized, and are now ready.

The next industries in the natural order of evolution towards Socialism are those of manufacture and commerce, including (with one exception—treated in next section) the general production and distribution of wealth. These departments of our industrial life are not quite so ripe for the co-operative commonwealth as are the public utilities, but they are ripening very fast, for every time a new trust is formed, or an old one enlarged, in these lines of industry, another stride is taken towards collective ownership, though nothing is further from the thought of the manipulators.

And here let it be noted with special emphasis that the vital question of today is not *public* ownership of *public*

*utilities, but collective ownership of the prime necessities of life.*

3. *Why Agriculture is the Least Ready of all Industries for the Co-operative Commonwealth.*

The one exception alluded to (in preceding paragraph) as the industry least ready for socialization is agriculture. The reason of this is plain. Agriculture, being inseparably bound to the soil, is of the nature of realty, and therefore least subject of all industries to the laws of mobility and mutation. And this feature of immobility is doubly emphasized for the farmer. Not only is his occupation involved in this limitation of fixedness, but all his possessions and his very home itself are local fixtures. Other occupations and industries—not being thus bound to the soil by the unwieldy conditions of real estate—are free to move—to change their place of operations—and are therefore easily manipulated, combined and organized into great industrial centers, wherever the best facilities are found. And since the tendency to concentrate and combine is the very essence and process of socialization, it is manifest that—agriculture being in the nature of the case most difficult to concentrate—agricultural industry will be the most difficult to harmonize with the Socialist program; and thus the isolated farming population, especially those farmers who are still under the delusion that they really own their farms, and are the proprietors of their own possessions, will be the last to surrender the forlorn hope of individualism. For, however sad may be the commentary on our human nature, the truth can no longer be disguised, that competitive life has made the great majority of mankind so blindly selfish that nothing short of pinching pov-

erty and threatened starvation will open their eyes to the necessity of the new economic order of justice and humanity advocated by the Socialists. But, notwithstanding the apparent seriousness of the problem which Socialism has to solve in its reckoning with the farmers, the present rate at which the trusts are driving the people into the Socialist ranks affords at least some ground of hope that even the farmers may be starved into alliance sooner than now appears possible. If so, the writer of this book will certainly not be disgruntled because the period of transition proves shorter than he predicted.

On the other hand, should it be found necessary to temporize for a while with these unready conditions, in order to avoid an unnatural and dangerous friction, let the victorious Socialists prove themselves worthy of their conquest by wisely and patiently guiding the ship of state through the breakers during a longer period of transition than they expected.

To close this part of the subject, it is a fixed conviction of the author of this book that, in order to pass the crisis of the transition period safely, it will be found necessary to proceed (not directly but) indirectly in the process of taking over individual and corporate industries from private to public ownership. The direct method would be the legal process of condemnation proceedings under the law of eminent domain. The indirect method would be that of gradual displacement of private enterprises by establishing—one after another, as most needed—public industries of the same class, which would naturally (without any procedure of restraint or compulsion) put an end to private business just as fast as the owners saw that they could not compete with the public. In this way there

might be, not only a voluntary and gradual transition to the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, but at the same time the public mind would be educated by degrees to look upon the *collective* ownership of capital and control of productive industry with the same complacency with which we now regard the *public* ownership and control of the postoffice, the highways, the public schools, and public buildings. Evolution (advance by degrees) is a slow but sure process, and great changes in human life can be peacefully wrought, if not thrust upon us with too great suddenness. Socialists should consider well this law of nature in the mighty work before them.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE TRUE SPIRIT OF SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA.

#### 1. *Socialists in Danger of Overdoing the "Class Struggle" Idea.*

From the nature of the Socialist movement, it is inevitable that some degree of animosity and bitter feeling must be engendered. The issue involved, though not primarily a class issue, has now become distinctively such—the lines being more and more sharply drawn by the intensifying conflict between laborers and the employers of labor. This conflict has now developed into a well defined "class struggle," a struggle for bread on one side and for profit on the other. It is a serious mistake to imagine that this "class struggle" is a one-sided affair, applying to the working class only. There is a "capitalist class" just as definitely as there is a "laboring class," and before the struggle is over, both sides will become fully "class-conscious."

It is here that Socialism finds the assurance of its ultimate triumph—in the complete awakening of this class-consciousness throughout the great body of the working class, and the change of political attitude resulting from it. United political action being necessary for success, and the workers constituting a majority of the voters, the problem is a simple one, the result depending on the one rule of action: "*United we stand; divided we fall.*" From

this point of view all objections against the necessity of class-consciousness and a class struggle seem to be illogical and groundless.

But while this necessity for the class struggle already exists in the nature of things, it is well for Socialists to be cautioned against certain mistakes often made in connection with the class idea. One of these mistakes is the indulgence of a feeling of bitterness and ill will towards capitalists, as if they were a different kind of human beings from the Socialists, and naturally worse. This feeling is both unwise and unjust—and, therefore, it is not found among broad-minded Socialists. We are all of the same blood and the same brood, progeny of the same parent, and nurtured in the same nest—the competitive system. The capitalist boss and the wage slave are alike the inevitable fruits of the same corrupt tree—the *Upas*, indigenous in all commercial countries. In the competitive game—as in all gambling games—a few win while the many lose. If those who won had lost, and those who lost had won, the conditions of the gamblers would be reversed—a few of the John Smiths would be millionaires, and the John Rockefellers, with the rest of the Smiths, Browns, etc., would be wage-workers; yet, still, all would be men and brothers, as they are (or should be) now. Why, then, should the losing gambler denounce the winning gambler as a scoundrel? The real trouble is not that the winners are bad while the losers are good, but that we are living under an economic system which makes gamblers of us all. The proper thing to do is, not to curse the successful gamblers, but abolish the *system*—which is injurious to both winner and loser. Socialism will *save* both. And let us remember that the gospel to save the world must be a gospel of love—not of hate.

2. *Socialism, in reality, a Movement for Doing Away with Class Distinctions in the End.*

Again, Socialists will avoid a common and harmful mistake if they will take pains to point out, through the press and from the platform, that the *class* feature of the Socialist movement is only a temporary necessity for propaganda work; that it belongs to Socialism militant, not to Socialism triumphant; that it is only a war measure, wholly to disappear when the war is over. This is true of all wars. They are all class struggles. The opposing forces are always distinct classes formed on specific lines of division, whether the conflict be one of arms or of opinions only. In our late civil war, for example, the class struggle was between anti-slavery unionists and pro-slavery secessionists; but when the war was over both these classes ceased to exist. Chattel slavery was abolished, and all classes being awarded equal rights, the names, slave-holder and chattel-slave, have now only a historic existence. Similar changes will follow the establishment of the principles of Socialism. Wage slavery will be abolished, capitalists and wage slaves will be accorded equality of opportunity, and the names by which they are now known will not be used except in history, the descendants of those now so classified being then co-equal citizens of the co-operative commonwealth. The new social order will advance with the advance of civilization, because Sociology will always be a progressive science.

Existing classes are the result of causes beyond the control of individuals; therefore no class—nor any member of any class—can be justly blamed for present conditions. This thought, kept in mind by propagandists of Socialism, will save needless rancor of speech and pen.

The class struggle (tho' blindly fought) is a means to an end. Let us keep it ever before the people that Socialists are aiming to secure, not merely the interests of a class, but the best and highest interests of humanity.

3. *Folly and Injustice of Harsh and Abusive Epithets Against the Rich.—True Class-Consciousness Defined.*

As a natural result of the unkind feelings indulged by some Socialists, a mistake is often made by our speakers and writers in the application of harsh and abusive epithets to capitalists, characterizing them as thieves, robbers, etc. To say nothing of the indiscretion of such a course, it is (as previously shown) manifestly unjust; for, however severely we may criticise and condemn our false economic system, we must still remember that it is the *system* which should be condemned—not the men who are the products of the system. The men thus denounced as criminals, and the corporations, so bitterly condemned because they have become rich and powerful by the monopolization of the means of wealth and the consequent impoverishment of their rivals in business, have committed no crime against the laws of the land. The competitive system of transacting business is recognized in law as right; in fact it is the only existing economic system that is fully provided for and protected under the constitution and laws, and those who win in the struggle are neither better nor worse than those who lose. There is, therefore, neither justice, propriety, nor good sense in denouncing the successful players in the game as thieves and robbers; and such a course is condemned by thoughtful minds as rash, inconsiderate and wholly out of keeping with a movement which is justly claimed to be rational and scientific.

Let Socialists train their guns against the false *system*,

not against its victims. Any theory of class-consciousness which would exclude from the Socialist ranks all classes outside of the so-called "proletariat" is untrue to the real meaning of Socialism, and must be self-defeating.

ALL MEN, WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF RANK, CONDITION, OR OCCUPATION, ARE CLASS-CONSCIOUS SOCIALISTS IF THEY BELIEVE IN SOCIALISM.

## CHAPTER XII.

### SOME COROLLARIES OF SOCIALISM.

#### 1. *Charity under Socialism.*

Having now completed a general view of the fundamental principles, arguments and defences of Socialism, it will be interesting and instructive to inquire as to what will naturally happen under the new regime with respect to a number of details constituting essential features in our present false social and economic system.

First, what is now falsely called "charity" can have no existence under Socialism. The mistranslation of the word *charity* by theological doctors, and its false application to alms-giving, has wrought untold evil by fastening upon the world, as an essential and permanent factor in the problem of human life, a blighting curse—a moral scrofula, a social incubus—more discouraging to human hope, and more fatal to human progress than all the scourges of war, pestilence and famine combined. For these latter come and go, and have surcease; but the moral cancer-blotch of charity-shame on the face of society eats on, day and night, forever and ever, being actually nursed and cherished by society under the strange delusion that it is a facial ornament to be proud of!

The word "charity"—originally meaning simply *love*—would never have been prostituted and debased into a

synonym for alms-giving, had not alms-giving been made necessary as a miserable substitute for *justice* under a false and selfish system of government and religion. Under this false system the rich and poor alike have been taught that it is God's will that some should be rich and others poor, so that there will always be paupers enough in the world for the rich to practice charity upon, to ease their consciences and take them to heaven when they die.

Socialists have a better opinion of God than this, and they repudiate this theory—the creed of both government and religion—as false to God and man. They claim that in a world of plenty, there is no natural necessity (either human or divine) for any part of the human race to be cursed and degraded with poverty while others revel in luxury, burdened with surplus wealth. Socialists propose to take this poor down-trodden class of humanity out of its degradation, and, instead of tossing it a loaf or a nickel, place it in a position that will enable it to make itself the equal of any—no longer a curse, but a blessing to the world.

## 2. *Money under Socialism—An Arraignment of Its Present False Uses.*

Our present monetary system will be abolished, root and branch, under Socialism. Probably no other change of our vicious economy will be so radical as this, for the reason that it is mainly through money and its shrewd manipulation that our present iniquitous machinery is operated. So universally is this recognized and understood, that the term “money-power” is, by common consent, used to designate the practical workings of the entire system. It is often asked how it “happened” that money has become

such a power for mischief. The answer (which here must be very brief) is two-fold :

First: It was by endowing money with false attributes and uses. The original and only proper function of money was as a medium of exchange—counting and measuring values in the purchase and sale of commodities. The moment creative power is given to money, through usury, —dollars breeding dollars, while their owner sleeps—that moment a power is conferred upon the shrewd financier to enslave his fellow man. This was the first fatal step towards our monetary despotism.

Second: Taking advantage of this unnatural breeding-power of money as an opportunity, the men who had foresight of the possibilities it offered of making millionaires by “sleight-of-hand,” especially during and at the close of our civil war, inaugurated and successfully carried out a deep-laid scheme of financial conspiracies by which such a complete system of monetary legislation was secured in favor of the money-mongers that it has required only about four decades to reduce our American republic to a plutocratic despotism. And thus we have our question—how has money done so much mischief?—answered.

That all this will come to an end under Socialism is a matter of natural consequence. Money will be stripped of its false garb and deprived of its spurious functions—its monstrous breeding and speculative power—and will be used simply as currency, passing from hand to hand, with purchasing and paying power between man and man and between the individual and the commonwealth. Usury and interest are the same thing—differentiated only by legal distinctions. When money ceases to have interest-drawing power, the whole superstructure of finance which dominates the world today, with its banks, its bonds, its

stocks, its dividends—the entire system of the world's monetary gambling hells—will “dissolve like the baseless fabric of a vision.”

And here is the answer to the question, “What would a man with a million dollars in money do under Socialism?” Such a case is hardly supposable, since the millionaire's wealth is scarcely ever in the form of actual money. But suppose Socialism should catch a man with a million of money, and suppose the million should be treated as good current money under the co-operative commonwealth, what would he do with it? The answer is, that he would simply keep the great bulk of it to look at, spending only the amount necessary to supply the needs of himself and family. And why? Because the speculative power of money to breed money by investment is gone. He could neither loan it out on interest, invest it in houses and lots to rent, nor put it into commercial speculation, because all three of these tricks—rent, interest and profit—are to be done away with under Socialism. He could not even donate his money to the Associated Charities, since that institution will have gone out of business for lack of patronage.

3. *Taxes, in their Present Form, will, under Socialism, Have No Existence.*

With the passing away of the present monetary system will naturally go our system of taxation so closely connected with it—in fact, constituting an essential part of it. As a part of our false system, it is necessary, as all the parts are necessary to a whole, whether the whole be false or true. But in the light of a true economic system, nothing is more absurd than the present scheme of taxation. Under Socialism there can be no arbitrary taxation on any

If the evils of strong drink can be so suddenly and so largely abated by turning the matter over from private to public management under our competitive system, in spite of all its other evil conditions, what might we not reasonably expect from the same policy under Socialism, which not only makes the saloon an impossibility, but, by new social and economic conditions, almost wholly does away with the causes which lead to drink ?

### 5. *Socialism and Prostitution.*

One of the most serious blots on our present civilization, and probably the most unmanageable of our vices, is the sex evil, commonly but erroneously termed "the social evil." The extent of this evil is not a matter for discussion here, but—What does Socialism promise in the way of a remedy ?

If Socialists are not in error as to the main causes of this evil, Socialism promises a great deal for its cure; for it is as true in the moral as in the medical realm, that the only effectual cure of disease is the removal of its cause. Without entering into any analysis of sex-philosophy and sex-morality in their vital relations to society and to the state, it is only necessary here to point out a few common-sense reasons why our present civilization is so sadly demoralized in this respect. These reasons are found in neither the innate depravity of men and women, nor in any deliberate purpose of crime against society, but in the mal-adjustment of our social and economic conditions.

How many women do we suppose there are who would voluntarily choose a life of prostitution and shame as a means of making a livelihood if society made it easy for every woman to live in comfort and respectability with her virtue and purity preserved ? How many girls would sell

themselves to supplement their salaries if their wages were sufficient to keep them in society as their self-respect and tastes demanded? How many young men would crush their natural instincts and do violence to the normal course of nature by choosing a life of celibacy and sexual criminality if our social and industrial conditions were such as to afford to every man and to every family the certainty of a comfortable and respectable living?

These questions answer themselves, and in doing so they answer also the main question under this head: What will Socialism do as a remedy for this moral leprosy on the body of our present human society?

Under Socialism these moral plague-spots, which so degrade our present civilization, instead of being licensed, tolerated, and temporized with, as "necessary evils," will be wiped out of existence by a new social and industrial economy which will make it easy, natural and almost unavoidable for every human being to live in comfort, decency and honor.

#### 6. *Frances Willard's Testimony for Socialism.*

And now, having arrived at the end of our long journey from Barbarism to Socialism, the author, in parting company with his readers, can think of no valedictory words more suitable than the earnest, tender and impressive sentiments of a noble and gifted woman, Frances E. Willard, who, at the close of a brilliant life devoted to the cause of humanitarian reform, left for the world, a beautiful benediction—the testimony of her deep religious faith in the rational economy and moral potency of Socialism:

"I believe the things that Socialism stands for. It is God's way out of the wilderness into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It

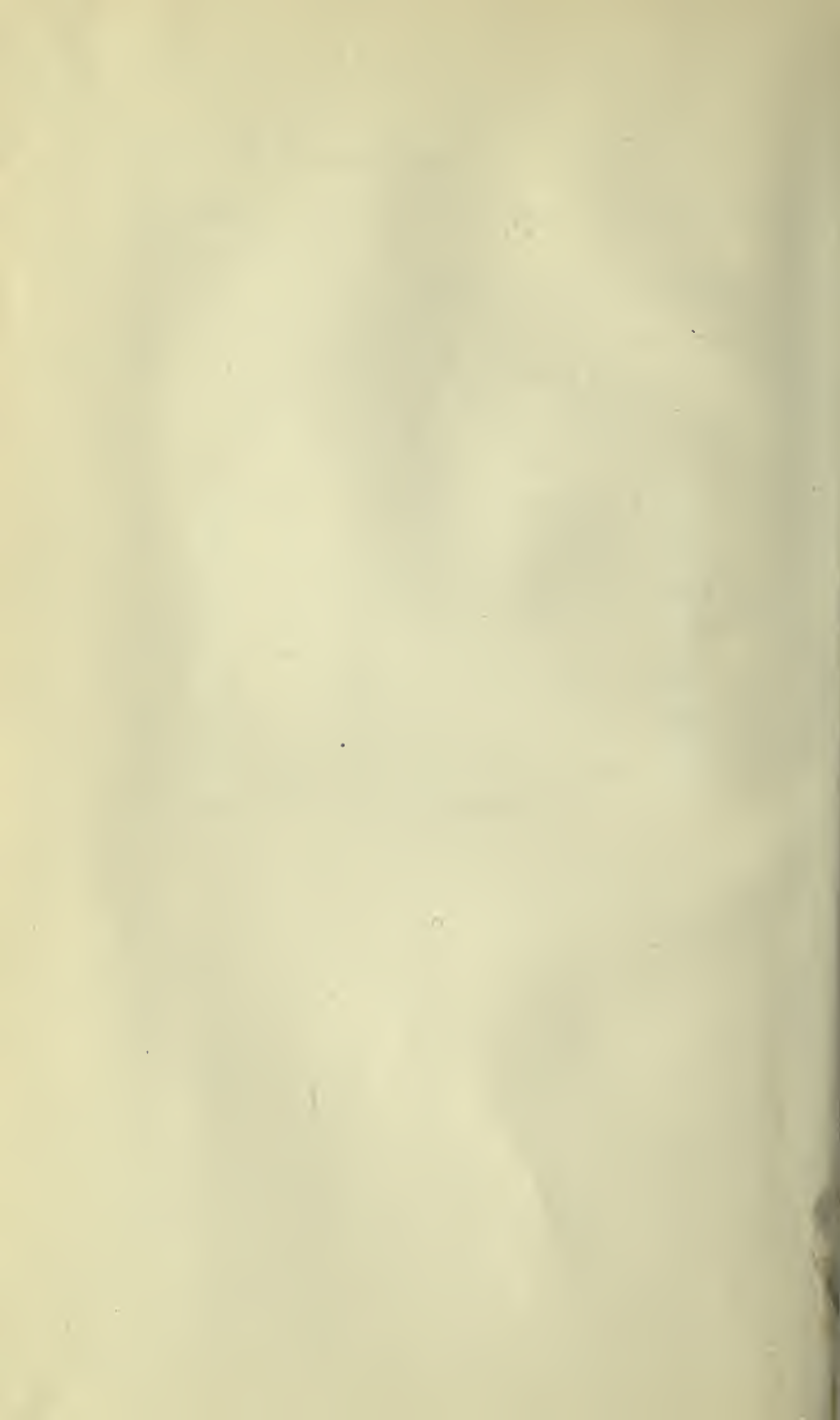
is Christianity applied. Oh, that I were young again—it should have my life !

“I would take ( not by force, but by the slow progress of lawful acquisition through better legislation, as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women,) the entire ‘plant’ that we call civilization, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give the finest physical development, but not enough to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable—indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism. I believe that competition is doomed. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity shall control all production.

“Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher law; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ’s gospel. Nothing else will do it. Nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.”

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